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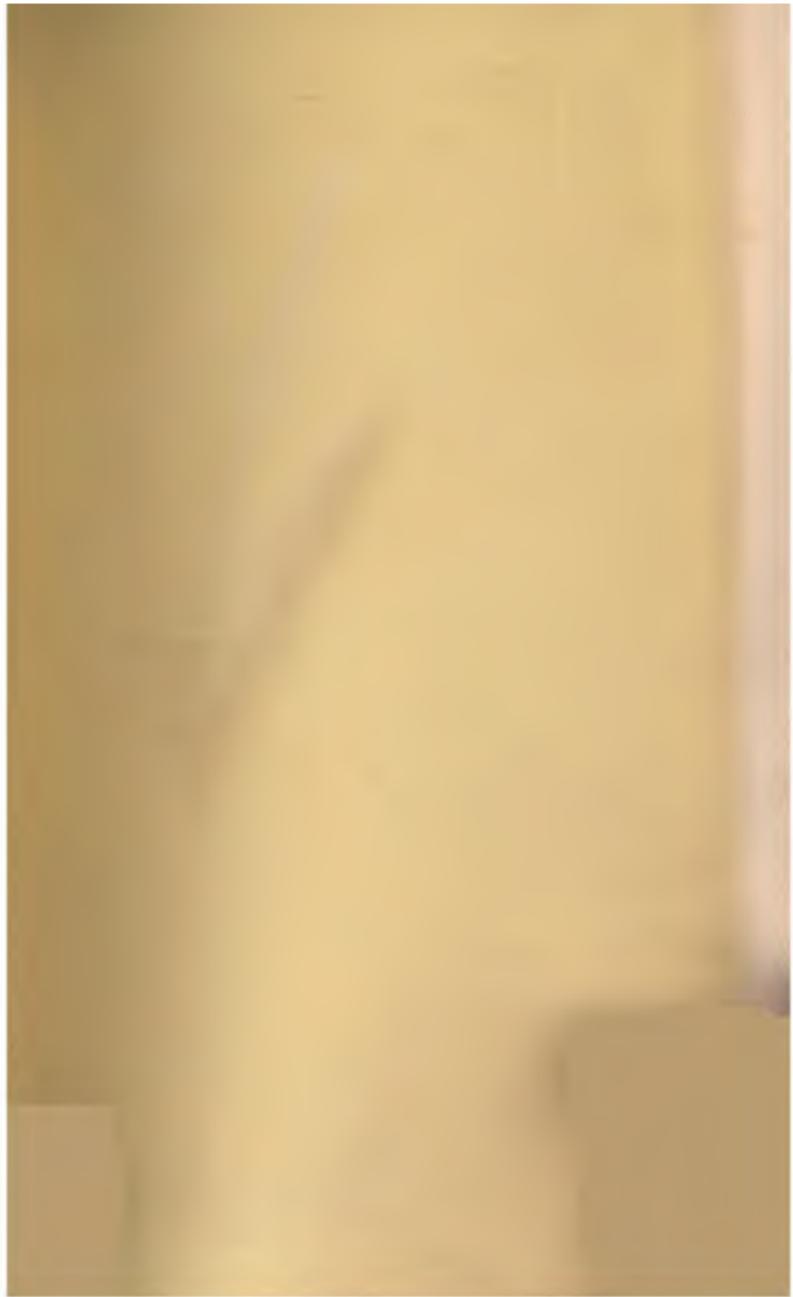
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SLAVERY IN AMERICA

BY W. DAY.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY J. R. GREEN, 1851.





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SLAVERY IN AMERICA

SHOWN TO BE

PECULIARLY ABOMINABLE,

BOTH AS

A Political Anomaly,

AND

AN OUTRAGE ON CHRISTIANITY,

BY WILLIAM DAY,

SECRETARY OF THE EAST SUFFOLK RAILWAY COMPANY.

SECOND EDITION.

"Our proper and only means of action is, to spread the truth on the subject of slavery; and let none condemn this means because of its gradual influence. It is not, therefore, less sure."—DR. CHANNING.

"Slavery is a question of humanity, not of country or race,—a general affair, and not one of city, state, party, or nation."—MISS MARTINEAU.

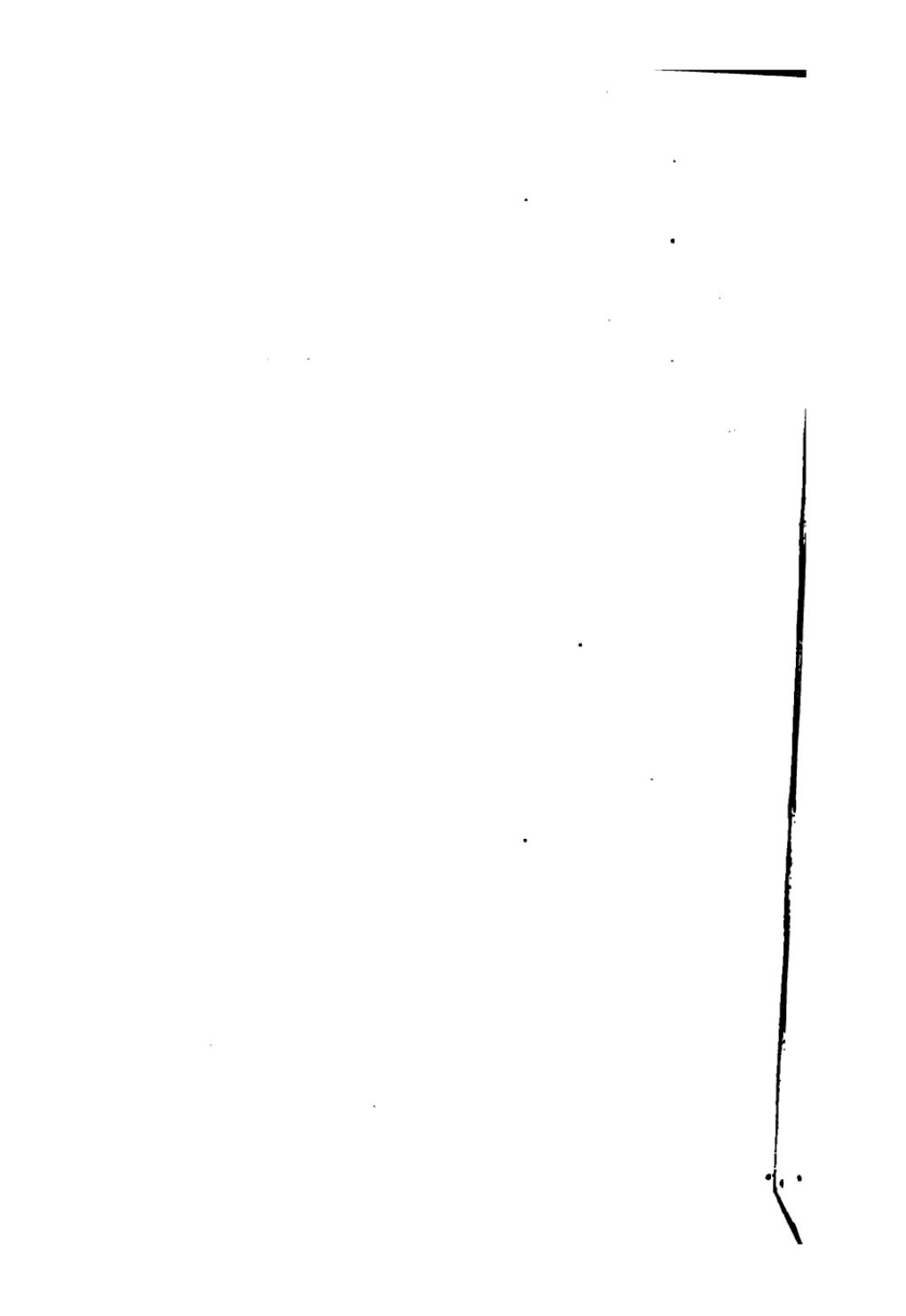
LONDON:
HARRISON, 59, PALL MALL.
1857.

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P R E F A C E.

IT is now sixteen years since I had the honour of receiving the kind permission of that excellent philanthropist, the late Thomas Clarkson, Esq., to dedicate the first edition of this pamphlet to him, as a token of the profound respect which I entertained for his public character, and my firm conviction of his righteous devotion, through a long and arduous course, to the cause of slave-abolition throughout the world.

To his numerous admirers, the following letter, written to me, granting that permission, will be read with a melancholy interest, as showing under what painful disadvantages he performed his appointed work, at the close of his useful public career :

“ Sir,—Being in my 82nd year, and in very declining health, and lame, and nearly blind, I feel it very troublesome to write a letter ; and yet I am unwilling to allow yours to go unanswered, which will be the case with all letters that come after next week, by the advice of my medical attendants.

“ As to the dedication to me, I had rather been without it ; but if you think it will do you good, you may use your own discretion about it. I have only one condition to make with you, which is, that nothing fulsome, or which borders upon flattery or panegyric, be seen in the dedication.

"I have just written a work,—I am sorry to say the last I shall have strength to write,—in behalf of our oppressed brethren. Knowing it to be the last, it has called forth all my energies; and I have suffered much from the severe labour and stretch of mind, which the writing of it has occasioned, at my time of life. It is designed for the American, and not for the English, reader; so that a few copies of it only have been struck off here, and the rest have been sent to the United States, where the good is to be effected, and where two or three hundred thousand copies will be printed. I have just heard that these copies have arrived at New York. May God give his blessing to the work!

"As the book is not to be had in England, you may take any extracts from it you please in your new work; only take care that, by so doing, you do not make your own publication too large; for people will not read a voluminous work,

"I am, Sir, truly yours,

"THOMAS CLARKSON."

"Playford Hall, May 3, 1841.

"To Mr. William Day."

This letter gives a genuine picture of the good man's earnest devotion and resolute perseverance in the cause he had so deeply at heart. It will also serve as a memento of the glorious power of righteous principles, in stimulating into activity the genuine Christian, under obstacles too great for the mere worldling to have overcome!

Clarkson earned the substantial reward of true glory, and acquired laurels which will grow and bloom imperishably over his grave. He lived to witness the complete victory over the slaveholders of our own colonies, to which he had so largely contributed. What a delightful consolation must this happy consummation of a portion of his labours have afforded him! What joy must have gladdened his heart at the entire success of the great and noble measure of emancipation! Would that equal suc-

cess had attended his writings on behalf of the slaves in America !

In contemplating the Herculean labours that have been brought to bear on this subject, it is painful to reflect on the comparatively little benefit that has, at present, resulted from them. The same noxious plant, by which almost everything connected with progress is withered and blasted, and under whose shade nothing beneficial to the slave can ever flourish, remains as deeply rooted in the stubborn soil of avarice as ever ! But, though painful the review, it ought not to discourage.

If ever any nation had cause to dread the fall of the thunderbolt of God's anger, it is surely Republican America, which, as a recent writer on the subject justly observes, "has elaborated a tyranny such as *no democracy, no aristocracy, no monarchy, no despotism, ever perpetrated*, or, as far as we know, ever imagined!"

The souls of slaveholders may be too contracted to comprehend the grandeur of the sentiment, that, at all cost and hazard, their traffic must be destroyed. They may go on, for a time, to brave heaven itself, and resolve to plunge and flounder onward in the track that has procured for them the detestation of all haters of oppression ; but, sooner or later, the climax of their guilty ambition will be reached, and the full cup of despotism, which they have handed to their victims, and compelled them to drink so deeply, will be left with its dregs at the bottom, —a sort of retributive draught for their own destruction !

The chief hope of this, and it is a strong one, is, that the spirit of the anti-slavery States will repulse its enemies, and that the whole of the North will have determination enough to rise in its might, and drive slavery from its stronghold in the South.

In Massachusetts, more particularly, there are many powerful societies, which acknowledge the great principle, that slavery is essentially sinful, and must be abolished, *at all hazards*. So recently as the 15th of January last, the following, amongst other, resolutions, were passed, at a public meeting in Worcester, Massachusetts :

"That, by the repeated confession of northern and southern statesmen, 'the existence of the Union is the chief guarantee of slavery ;' and that the despots of the whole world have everything to fear, and the slaves of the whole world everything to hope, from its destruction, and the rise of a free northern republic.

"That the sooner the separation takes place, the more peaceful it will be ; but that, peace or war is a secondary consideration, in view of our present perils. Slavery must be conquered : *peaceably, if we can ; forcibly, if we must !*"

In the hope of furthering its *peaceful* termination, I am induced to renew my humble efforts against the monstrous "political anomaly," and the gross "outrage on Christianity," which Slavery in America exhibits, not only at the kind solicitation of friends, but on the many assurances which I have received, that the first edition of this work was found useful where it was more especially intended to be useful. Amongst other letters, the following is an extract from one, selected as setting forth this truth in an encouraging light. It is from the secretary of an anti-slavery society, in Massachusetts, the great and enlightened central State of the North American Federation :

"No. 12, Botolph Street, Boston, Massachusetts,
"April 10, 1843.

"Esteemed Sir,—Permit me to return the grateful acknowledgment of the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society, *for your very valuable donation of pamphlets, to aid in spread-*

ing light in the cause of the crushed and bleeding slave. The sympathy which you have manifested in behalf of our poor despised countrymen has touched our hearts, and the inward prayer of our society is, that God may bless the noble efforts you are making in behalf of the oppressed millions of our sin-cursed earth !

" Your work on 'Slavery in America' is much prized by us, and has been extensively circulated by our society, both in our own and other States. The facts there stated are humiliating, in the lowest degree ; but we rejoice to feel that darkness is flying before the light of truth. We are seeking to scatter the living coals of truth upon the *naked heart* of our *lethargic nation*, and I trust in God that they will do their work effectually. Your work will, we confidently hope, serve to open the eyes of many to the moral impurity and abomination of the accursed system.

" Very respectfully,

" To Mr. William Day."

" MARTHA F. BALL."

As to the objection which is sometimes urged against Englishmen interfering with the "domestic institutions" of America, in which category is classed its horrible and disgusting "domestic institution" of slavery, I can only reply, that the duties owing to man, as man, are far superior to those owing to the conventional arrangements of nations. The former are proclaimed and enforced by God himself, and are eternally binding on the consciences of his creatures ; while the latter may be, as they are in America, subversive of all rights, in which case it would be not simply wrong, but positively criminal, to respect them. It is, indeed, a satire upon human nature generally, at which Liberty revolts, to insinuate that this is a party question. It is one involving such gross turpitude, such vast iniquity, that every individual, of whatever political or religious creed, is morally called upon to do his best to

crush. For myself, I was originally prompted to add my public remonstrance to the remonstrances of others, in the hope that such efforts would be as useful as anticipated by the American abolitionists themselves.

"Our cause," writes the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, "may be greatly furthered, by awakening more and more the British public to the abominations of American slavery. A deep abhorrence of our oppressions should pervade universally the British people, so that whenever Americans travel or tarry within the bounds of the empire, they should meet a solemn and uncompromising testimony against American slavery, American prejudice against colour, and the multiform pro-slavery spirit of the free states. Even now, the influence of such a public sentiment is beginning to be felt by Americans who cross the Atlantic. Great Britain is already regarded here as a nation of abolitionists, and her frown is greatly dreaded by the advocates of slavery. If the impression could be made upon the British people at large, that they may do much toward the removal of American slavery, this would be a great point gained. If they could be made to appreciate the mighty influence which they may wield by the bare expression of their public sentiment against our slavery, this would be a still greater gain."

In these assurances, there is much to encourage hope for the future. On the *constant-drop* principle, it is possible that perseverance may yet make an abiding impression even on the stony hearts of the slaveholders of America!

43, Parliament Street, London,
July 8, 1857.

WILLIAM DAY.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

PART I.

ITS POLITICAL ANOMALY.

CHAP. I.

THE ANOMALOUS CONNEXION BETWEEN SLAVERY AND FREEDOM IN AMERICA.

"Strange that in any nation where a sense of liberty prevails, custom and high prospect of gain can so stupify the consciences of men and all sense of natural justice, that they can hear computations made about the value of their fellow-men and their liberty, without abhorrence and indignation!"—HUTCHESON.

"IT is remarkable," says Sir T. Buxton, "that, among the whole phalanx of antagonists to the abolition of West Indian slavery, there was never one who was not, by his own account, an ardent lover of freedom. Slavery, in the abstract, was universally acknowledged to be detestable; and they were in the habit of pathetically deplored their cruel fate, and of upbraiding the mother-country, which had originally planted this curse among them."* A similar plea is put forth by some of the American slave-holders, to extenuate their upholding the wretched traffic in all its abominable and revolting features. That it was *originally* introduced into America,† during her colonial condition, by our countrymen, and sanctioned by the then parent-government of England, are facts to be deeply lamented. But the plea is altogether untenable as regards the United States, as it cannot afford them the slightest justification for *continuing* the base national iniquity. It

* The African Slave-Trade and its Remedy, p. 445.

† In the year 1620, by the colonists of Virginia. See Cabinet Cyclopaedia, History of the Western World, Vol. I., p. 52. The writer says, "The conduct of the colonists on this occasion deserves a prominent place in the ignominious records of wickedness." Mr. Grahame, in his work, entitled "Who is to Blame?" shows that the English government had little or nothing to do with planting slavery in America.

is an established axiom in law, that whatever was originally acquired by fraud, no time can convert into a right.

For more than seventy years, the United States have formed an independent nation, and been in possession of facilities for correcting the errors in their institutions which no other country on earth has enjoyed. The Americans, in fact, take great pride in reminding the rest of the world, that, unlike the old kingdoms, who owe most of their enactments to the "wisdom of ancestors," all their laws have been made within the memory of their aged citizens, and with their full consent and approbation. They pretend that America is the only land of sober and enlarged freedom in the world,—the soil out of which springs those envied exotics, exclusive virtue, liberty, and happiness! Freedom *there*, say they, is no visionary scheme, no subject of dispute or speculation, as with us, but is the very atmosphere they breathe!* Universal enlightenment on all matters of literature, morality, and philanthropy, is another advantage which they boastingly claim. "It is a common remark here," observes Dr. Channing, "that there is not a community under heaven, through which there is so general a diffusion of intelligence and healthful moral sentiment as in New England." As, however, the test by which to estimate the worth of any thing is, when profession and practice accord, it has long been a matter of astonishment to all Christendom, how, under the specious mask of freedom, these boasting republicans should so scandalously violate the very fundamental principles of freedom,—how, while holding out the rights of man to the whole human race, they should habitually endeavour, so far as their *coloured* brethren are concerned, to extinguish the very name and sound of those rights, and practise a far worse system of

* In the State House, Philadelphia, is the room in which the original Declaration of Independence was first ratified and signed; and the old bell which occupied the cupola of this building has cast upon it, as a motto, the following quotation (sadly inappropriate!) from the Old Testament: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the people thereof!" The bell is still preserved in its original position, with as much veneration as the hall itself!—See *Buckingham's America*, Vol. II., p. 33.

usurpation and oppression than any they have pretended to denounce and destroy !

Free and enlightened philanthropy is usually distinguished by zealous efforts to render others happy ; but the American philanthropists would rob it of its distinguishing principles, by making their fellow-men labour in offices of the vilest drudgery, to subserve their own interests, or supposed interests, as if philanthropy could be generous in its *origin*, and not in its *nature* ! It is not by such a theory that the wounds inflicted on the hearts of their slaves can be healed. The Americans may wrap themselves up in the conceit that their conduct involves no inconsistency, refuse to see the gross anomaly of their situation, and forget facts which it would be inconvenient to remember ; but then they should know that their conceit, wilful blindness, and forgetfulness, cannot put away the TRUTH. That TRUTH still exists to expose the false and pernicious principles which they have adopted ; and, in its prodigious and successful activity, will be sure to place boldly and prominently forward, that they have the pride of philanthropy, without its essence,—the forms of liberty, without its spirit !

An outline of the odious commerce in slaves, not as it may have flourished a century ago, but as it *now exists* in republican America, will show that there is no exaggeration in what has been advanced. The testimony of Judge Jay is as unexceptionable as his advocacy of the rights of the negro is conspicuous. Having passed his whole life amidst the scenes to which so great a rebellion against the first principles of justice must give rise, no man can be better qualified to arrive at sound conclusions on the subject. In his work, entitled "Slavery in America," this worthy and upright judge pronounces it to be

"A system which classes with the beasts of the field, over whom dominion has been given to man, an intelligent and accountable being, the instant his Creator has breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Over this infant heir of immortality, no mother has a right to watch, no father may guide his feeble steps, check his wayward appetites, and train him for future usefulness, happiness, and glory. Torn from his parents, and sold in the market, he soon finds himself labouring among strangers, under the whip of a driver, and his task augmenting with his ripening strength. Day after day, and year

after year, he is driven to the cotton or sugar-fields, as the ox to the furrow. No hope of reward lightens his toil; the subject of insult, the victim of brutality, *the laws of his country afford him no redress*. His wife, such only in name, may, at any moment, be dragged from his side; his children, heirs only of his misery and degradation, are but articles of merchandise; his mind, stupified by his oppressors, is wrapped in darkness; his soul, no man careth for it; his body, worn with stripes and toil, is at length committed to the earth, like the brute that perisheth."

Contrasting this appalling picture of human misery with the bright and lively sketch of the sacred and imprescriptible rights of man, on which the independence of America is professedly established, what a glaring anomaly is presented to the view! How can so fatal a discrepancy be explained away? How utterly irreconcilable is the monstrous cruelty of the slave-holding Americans with their republican professions! How nauseating the mixture of practical atrocities and theoretical equity! Their political creed, as embodied in their "*Declaration of Independence*," professes to "hold these truths to be self-evident :"

"That ALL MEN are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain INALIENABLE RIGHTS; that among these are LIFE, LIBERTY, and the PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS: that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their JUST POWERS from the CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED; that, whenever ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to ALTER OR ABOLISH it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on SUCH PRINCIPLES, and organising its power in SUCH FORM, as to them shall seem most likely to EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS."

Now, it is presumed that these asseverations are based on those direct deductions from the most simple and fundamental principles of right which are scarcely capable of being rendered doubtful to any honest mind. Unquestionably, all authority is derived from the people, and ought to be exercised for their benefit and advantage. It is a sacred trust, delegated to government for purposes of general convenience, and may be revoked and resumed whenever that trust is violated or abused. But, as these great first principles equally apply to the rights of ALL MEN, of whatever colour or nation, and as EVERY GOVERNMENT which destroys these rights comes under the sentence of deserving ALTERATION OR ABOLITION, it is very certain

that, by *their own* "self-evident truths," their great slaveholding Commonwealth stands *self-condemned*! But this *Baconian* method of solving difficulties is rejected by our wily Republicans,—at least on this especial question. They have even the hardihood to maintain "that slavery is the soil into which political freedom strikes its deepest roots, and that republican institutions are never so secure as when the labouring class is reduced to servitude." This impudent doctrine was avowed to Dr. Channing, not simply "by a handful of enthusiasts in private life, but by men in the highest station and of widest influence at the South."^{*} Thus the purposes of the southern slave-dealers are, as they imagine, much better answered by appeals to other authorities than Lord BACON. An ancient heathen monarch and a horde of savages are found to be more favourable to their tortuous policy; and the political code of the one, and the pitiable logic of the others, are consequently adopted with eagerness, if not with good taste. The two guiding principles of American slavery will at once be recognized in those upon which Minos, the first king of Crete, founded his laws;[†] namely, "that ALL FREE MEN WERE EQUAL, and that *slaves were necessary* to relieve them from every servile employment." And it is well known that American writers seek to palliate their cruel and contemptuous treatment of the sons and daughters of Africa, by asserting that they are "not men and women, in the ordinary sense of the terms, but beings of a stunted intellect and of a degraded order,"[‡] and are therefore only fit for a state of abject depression and base servitude! That this conclusion is not arrived at by the few

* *Essay on Slavery*, Chap. VIII.

+ See Professor Dunbar's "General History of the Grecian States," p. 3, appended to Potter's "Antiquities of Greece."

‡ One of these gentlemen has gone so far as to maintain, that "the negroes are a distinct race of animals." This singular inference is drawn from as singular arguments, in a work, published at New York, 1833, entitled "Evidences against the Views of the Abolitionists, consisting of Physical and Moral Proofs of the Natural Inferiority of the Negroes." Another, (*an Elder of a Christian Church!*) once attempted to justify his prejudice against colour on the authority of the New Testament! He spoke of a gradation in creation, from the highest seraph to the meanest insect; and, to support this doctrine, quoted the fifteenth chapter of the

only, but that an overwhelming majority act upon it, is pretty clear from the statement of Miss Martineau, who, in her "Retrospect of Western Travel," when describing the escapes of negroes to the neighbouring shores of Canada, says, "I am prevented from relating many stories of kind assistance given on these occasions to negroes by friendly whites, only through a fear of bringing these white persons into trouble, in a society where the *greatest of all crimes is to show a disposition to TREAT SLAVES AS THEIR FELLOW-CREATURES!*" The lame and impotent manner in which the Americans reach this decision forcibly reminds me of that come to on the same subject by the New Zealanders. According to Mr. Marsden, these poor illiterate savages find no greater difficulty than the "highly civilised" and "enlightened" Americans in comprehending that the God of the whites is also the God of the blacks! "But we are of a different colour from you," said they to Mr. Marsden, "and if one God made us both, he would not have committed such a mistake as to make us of different colours!" There is nothing surprising in the simplicity of this remark, considering the uneducated state of those who uttered it; but it is passing strange that any one living in the full blaze of intelligence should, for a single moment, be found to entertain it. "Whatever difference there may be," wrote the late Mr. Clarkson, "in the colour of the skins of men, as they now live scat-

first epistle to the Corinthians: "All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds." To which kind of flesh the negro has affinity, this sage did not determine. He contented himself with denying his relationship to the first, and left his hearers the choice between that of beasts, fishes, and birds! In a pamphlet, "The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery," it is stated that "Chancellor Harper maintained it to be the order of nature and of *God*, that the being of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should controul and dispose of those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature, that *men should enslave each other*, as that *other animals should prey upon each other!*" Mr. Sturge says, "One of my fellow passengers, a French merchant, of New Orleans, went so far as to assure me, that, in his opinion, it would be as reasonable to class the negroes with monkeys as to place them on an equality with the whites!"—*Visit to the United States in 1841*, p. 2.

tered over the different parts of the earth, they are all of them either the descendants of Shem, of Ham, or of Japheth. This difference, therefore, must have been entirely accidental. And we are warranted again in saying this; for we have seen that a whole nation, which can be proved to have sprung from Cush, one of the sons of Ham, had become black in the time of Jeremiah. See Jeremiah xiii., 23.* Dr. Lord, in his admirable work on Physiology, demonstrates that the varieties of form, colour, and organization, in the different races of men, are not greater, nor indeed so great, as those which occur in the lower orders of creation, within the limits of the same species. "Dissection," observes Dr. Taylor, in the introduction to his *Natural History of Society*, "exhibits more unity of type in the most discrepant varieties of man than is to be found in the unquestionable varieties of species among the lower animals. It is, therefore, contrary to anatomy, physiology, and analogy, to consider the existing varieties of the human kind as different species." "In Baltimore," writes Miss Martineau, "the bodies of coloured people, exclusively, are taken for dissection, 'because the whites do not like it, and the coloured people cannot resist.' It is wonderful that the bodily structure can be (with the exception of the colouring of the skin) thus assumed to be the *pattern of that of the whites*; that the exquisite nervous system, the instrument of moral as well as physical pleasures and pains, can be nicely investigated, on the ground of its being *analogous with that of the whites*; that, not only the mechanism, but the sensibilities, of the *degraded race*, should be argued from to those of the *exalted order*, and that men come from such a study with contempt for these brethren in their countenances, hatred in their hearts, and insult on their tongues! These students are the men who cannot say, that the coloured people have not nerves that quiver

* Researches Antediluvian, Patriarchal, and Historical, &c., p. 107. In an appendix to this work, Mr. Clarkson has given many curious particulars relative to the different colours of the skins of men, showing that the sun, acting upon the *inner skin*, (the human skin consisting of *three lamina, or parts*) produces the variety of colour observable in the human species.

under moral injury, nor a brain that is on fire with insult, nor pulses that throb under oppression. These are the men who should stay the hand of the rash and ignorant possessors of power who crush the being of creatures like themselves, 'fearfully and wonderfully made.' But to speak the right word, to hold out the helping hand, these searchers into man have not light, nor strength."*

The asserted inferiority of the negro in his *physical formation* is thus clearly disproved. Nor are facts, equally well attested and satisfactory, wanted to prove that, both in his *mental powers and moral sensibilities*, he is the white man's equal, when a similar measure of discipline is employed in both cases. Capt. Marryat says, "In Philadelphia, the free coloured people are a very respectable class; and, in my opinion, QUITE AS INTELLIGENT as the more humble of the free whites. I have been *quite surprised* to see them take out their pencils, write down and calculate with quickness and precision, and, in *EVERY OTHER POINT*, *shew great intelligence and keenness.*" This *surprise* appears to have been occasioned by a preconceived notion which the gallant officer entertained of their inferiority. Nor does the plain fact, which he himself witnessed, of their "quickness and precision," seem to have eradicated the ungenerous prejudice. In the very same page in which this testimony to their great intelligence and keenness is recorded, he has the superlative folly to assert, "they will never attain to the same powers of intellect as the white man; for *I really believe that the RACE ARE NOT FORMED FOR IT BY THE ALMIGHTY.*"† It is to be regretted that a man of Capt. Marryat's popularity should have, by such an avowal, contributed, in some measure, to perpetuate the injurious prejudice against colour, and to have armed the slave-holders of America with a new authority for their traffic; for the dealers in human flesh have long asserted a similar opinion to that of Capt. Marryat, and, by such opinion, sought to justify their diabolical treatment of millions of the coloured race! But there is no ground for this mischievous prejudice; though, even if it were true, that

* *Retrospect of Western Travel*, Vol. 1., p. 231.

+ *Diary in America*, Vol. I., p. 293-4.

the black man is not so intellectual as the white man, no legitimate argument could be drawn from thence to justify slavery. The observer of human nature cannot fail to notice that degrees of capacity exist among Europeans themselves, and that the most remarkable mental differences often appear in the very same family. But no one in his senses ever thought of arguing from this every-day occurrence, that the *superior in understanding* may reasonably claim his *inferiors* as beasts of burden! Some have fewer opportunities than others for improvement, and some make better use of those that offer than others do; but, except in cases of insanity and cerebral deformity, from neither of which the European is exempt, any more than the African, all mankind are doubtless capable, more or less, of supporting the character of intellectual beings, according to circumstances. The strength and temper, and even the character generally, of the human mind, depend upon external accident more than upon climate. A faulty education may prevent the development of its power, as, of course, the total absence of cultivation must destroy its fair proportions altogether. And when it is considered how small are the pains taken to form and direct the minds of the coloured population of America, how seldom they are trained to study, and how poor is the mental nourishment within their reach, the wonder is, that any of them are ever able to emancipate themselves from the chains of ignorance, and to evoke the powers of the mind from their hidden cell. Yet we have evidence that this has been achieved; and in several instances, the negro has not only vindicated his claim to be considered as "a man and a brother," but has distanced many of his persecutors in those talents which alone give the stamp of respectability. The list of publications advertised by the "British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society" contains this striking notice: "POEMS, by a SLAVE in the Island of Cuba, recently liberated, with Life, written by himself!" Now, it is acknowledged by all competent judges, that, to write poetry well, requires an intellect of the highest order, and sensibilities of the tenderest description; and perhaps Capt. Marryat himself would not deny, that such an intellect bears as

many traces of being *formed by the Almighty* as that of the *novelist or the tourist!* That the Cuban slave was not deficient in the requirements of a poet, it is sufficient to state that his productions were translated from the Spanish by Dr. Madden. In his preface, the worthy Dr. says, "I am sensible I have not done justice to these poems; but I trust I have done enough to vindicate, in some degree, the character of negro intellect; at least, the attempt affords me an opportunity of recording my conviction, that the blessings of education and good government are only wanting to make the natives of Africa, intellectually and morally, equal to the people of any nation on the surface of the globe."

Many other examples might be given to prove that the burning clime of Africa has produced men as extraordinary for mental and moral qualities as either of the other quarters of the globe. "The Abbe Gregoire," states Mr. Clarkson, in his admirable letter to the slave-holders of America, "had made a collection (unfortunately never published) of above a hundred black persons, natives of Africa, all recorded in history, who had distinguished themselves by their learning, and in the arts and sciences." And a little further on, discussing the genius and talents of Henry Christophe, formerly king of a part of Hayti, the son of a slave, and of a complexion as black as jet, Mr. Clarkson writes,

"I corresponded with him for three years, and therefore knew him well. He devised, when king, a noble plan for the education of every child that was born in his own dominions, and he carried it into execution. He founded a university, and introduced into it the professors of Latin and Greek, and of the mathematics, as well as of sculpture and painting, and of some of the other arts and sciences. He had devised also a liberal and well-digested plan of government for his people; but his premature death hindered it from being brought forward. When I was at the Congress of Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1817, I happened to have one of his letters in my pocket, and I showed it to the emperor Alexander of Russia. He was so struck with it, as to have shown it, by my permission, to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, who attended this congress; and the opinion of all the three upon this letter was, that *none of them* had, in their *respective cabinets*, a minister, who could write upon the same subject *a better political letter*, or one *better suited to the case!* After the death of Henry Christophe,

his widow and two grown-up daughters were at my house for five months, during which time, I had an opportunity of judging of their capacity and acquirements. Their acquaintance with history, literature, and the fine arts, and their powers of conversation, qualified them for mixing with the highest circles of English society, *and they did afterwards mix with them in London, and were accounted as amiable and as intellectual as others in whose company they were.*"

These are special instances, it is true ; but the negro's natural and inherent power of attaining to the highest attributes of man may also be established upon *general* principles. Many, who have had the best possible opportunities of judging upon this head, have placed the matter beyond dispute. The Rev. Mr. Phillippo, who founded schools in Jamaica for children of colour, states, in the Report of the British and Foreign School Society, for 1832, that, "it is highly gratifying to the conductors of these schools to have it in their power to add to their testimony the spontaneous attestation of others, and to explode, by an array of incontrovertible facts, the theory of mental incapacity which has been so long associated with this injured people." Anthony Benezet conducted a school in the United States ; and, after having instructed many coloured pupils, as well as others, announced, as the result of his long experience, that "Providence had been *equally liberal* to the Africans, in genius and talents, as to other people." Capt. Basil Hall, in the third volume of his "Travels in the United States," acknowledges that, "as far as his own experience went, he invariably noticed that, precisely in proportion as the negro had a fair chance given him, so he proved himself equal in capacity to the white man." "Generally speaking," he adds, "though by no means always, I found the most sensible planters of opinion, that there was not naturally and essentially any intellectual difference between the two races. (p. 190-1.) In the evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons, several eye-witnesses of negro capacity frankly stated, that, with equal opportunities, they considered the blacks on a par with the whites, as well in mental as moral qualities,—that they have "the same capabilities, and are influenced

by the same motives, as other men ; the difference is in cultivation." Mr. Sturge also testifies to the truth, that "the whites have a monopoly of prejudice, but not a monopoly of intellect, nor of education and accomplishments ; nor even of those more trivial, yet fascinating, graces, which throw the charm of elegance and refinement over social life."^{*} It is, in fact, not to the colour of the skin, but to the state of debasement into which slavery plunges its victims, that the real inferiority is to be attributed. Sir T. F. Buxton gives the "reverse of the picture" of negro slavery, showing "that when Africans are masters, and Englishmen their slaves, they reckon us a poor, pitiful, degraded race of mortals." "Let slavery," he adds, "be imposed on man, of whatever race, that man is found a poor, tame, degenerate creature."[†] But let a man have the privileges of freedom, and his abilities the opportunities of displaying themselves, and the degradation acquired under the yoke speedily disappears :

"The fire of nature in his bosom burns,
And as the *slave* departs, the *man* returns."

Evidence of this truth might be quoted, were it essential to cite more authorities, sufficient to swell this chapter to the size of a volume. But the fact which Sir T. F. Buxton notices is of itself amply satisfactory. It fully accounts for the way in which all the inlets of knowledge, and all the sources of human reason and human dignity, may be nearly closed. The slave, no matter what his colour or his country, has his mind thus dwindled to that extreme of degradation at which its energy and its elasticity become almost defunct, and the barrier which divided it from the irrational part of the animal creation is all but removed.

With regard to the acuteness of the natural feelings of the negroes, there are many well-attested facts to bear record, that in these they are not a whit inferior to the whites ; and contrasts might be cited to show the propriety of their exclaiming, in the beautiful lines of Cowper,

* Visit to the United States, p. 51.

† *The African Slave-Trade, and its Remedy*, p. 461.

"Slaves of gold ! whose sordid dealings
Tarnish all your boasted powers,
Prove that *you* have human feelings,
Ere you proudly question *ours!*"

The following is so strictly to the point, that I cannot forbear quoting it. They who have read it before will excuse its insertion here for the sake of those who have not. It is so honourable to the slave, and so characteristic of the inhumanising effects of slavery on the master, that it cannot be too extensively known.

"Mary Douglas, a slave in a family of Louisiana, was about twenty years of age when her master, a widower, died. He had been a planter, and, being a free-living man, had left scarce any property, except what he had in her person ; but then she was what the advertisements style 'very valuable slave.' She became, by his death, the property of his only child, an infant still in arms. Him she supported entirely for many years,—indeed, till he arrived at manhood, principally by going out washing. She also bought off, in that time, two near relations, then her husband (all slaves in other families) and then, but not till then, did she think of emancipating herself ! On application to her young master, he had the heartless ingratitude to exact such an exorbitant price for that which he ought to have given, that she fell dangerously ill with vexation and despair. This second Inkle then *prudently*, if not kindly, abated of his demand ! And thus the heroic woman ultimately, when long past the middle age, gained her liberty."—*Thomason's Men and Things in America*, p. 187.

The combination of enormities, to which the loathsome and accursed system of slavery gives birth, is but imperfectly known to those whose information extends only to the injuries inflicted on the sons and daughters of Africa. On their unhappy shores, families, it is too true, are even now continually being ruined, and all the affinities of blood and friendship ruthlessly torn asunder for ever, by the "*philanthropic and enlightened*" dealers in human flesh. But there is yet to be noticed another part of the "pure unsophisticated wickedness," ere its full measure can be considered complete. This is what the Americans themselves significantly denominate the "**BLEACHING SYSTEM.**" It involves enormity of the deepest hue, the most repulsive character, and it largely contributes to the deep demoralization of those parts of the States where it is practised, confounding as it does all the principles of equity, and

setting at defiance all the claims of virtue and humanity. Like the roaming of the hungry tiger, images of horror and desolation are every where left upon its track. It is, in short, an aggregate of every species of evil ; for every child born of a female slave in America,—*no matter who may be its father*,—is mercilessly doomed to the wretched condition of the mother ; and it has been stated, that “THE BEST BLOOD IN THE COUNTRY FLOWS IN THE VEINS OF THE SLAVES.” As a brief illustration of this disgraceful fact, Mrs. Trollope tells us, that

“Mr. Jefferson is said to have been the father of children by almost all his numerous gang of female slaves. These wretched offspring were also the lawful slaves of their father, and worked in his house and plantations as such ; in particular, it is recorded that it was his especial pleasure to be waited upon by them at table, and the hospitable orgies, for which his Montecielo was so celebrated, were incomplete, unless the goblet he quaffed were tendered by the trembling hand of his own slavish offspring ! I once heard it stated by a democratical adorer of this great man, that when, as it sometimes happened, his children by Quadroon slaves were white enough to escape suspicion of their origin, he did not pursue them if they attempted to escape, saying, laughingly, “Let the rogues get off, if they can ; I will not hinder them.” This was stated in a large party, as a proof of his kind and noble nature, and was received by all with approving smiles !”—*Domestic Manners of the Americans*, Vol. I., p. 98-9.

A summary of the inevitable consequences of such a pernicious state of things is thus drawn by the “Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society : ”

“While the slave-trader only buys and sells, retaining possession no longer than till he can reach the market, the *breeder* is engaged in the protracted process of *raising human stock* ! He selects his ‘breeders,’ he *encourages licentiousness*, he rewards amalgamation, he *punishes sterility*, he coolly calculates upon the profits of fecundity, *takes vengeance for miscarriages*, and *holds mothers accountable for the continued life and health of their offspring* ! On the head of the new-born child, he sets its future price. He trains it in premeditated ignorance ; he feeds it for the same purpose for which he feeds his swine,—*for the shambles* ! From the day of its birth, he contemplates the hour when he shall separate it from the mother who bore it,—for that hour of yet keener pangs did its mother pass through the anguish of its birth. When that hour comes, the long-determined deed is done. The master proceeds about it deliberately ; no entreaties or tears can surprise him into pity. The mother’s *phrenzied cry*, the boy’s mute look of despair, move him not. He

tears them asunder, handcuffs the victim, and consigns him to the *soul-driver*! Who can doubt whether, in all this long and complicated process of villainy, there is not more to sear conscience, blunt sensibility, and transform man into a demon, *far more* than can be found in the slave-trade itself? While the trader deals with *strangers*, the master is perpetrating these outrages upon those whom he has reared from their birth; in some cases, upon the companions of his own boyhood; in others, on the children of the woman, or perchance the woman herself, who nursed his infancy; and often, worst of all, on his OWN OFFSPRING!"

The following revolting anecdote on this part of the horrible traffic was related to Mr. G. Thompson by that warm advocate of abolition, Mrs. Child, of the United States:

"A clever young physician, of the name of Wallis, went from Alexandria to a town in the state of Mississippi, and took up his abode in a boarding-house. Here he fell in love with a very beautiful young female who had the management of the establishment. She was slightly coloured, but not having sufficient prejudice to prevent him from appreciating her worth, he made her an offer of his hand. The offer was accepted; they were married rather secretly, and he brought her as his wife into the district of Columbia. They had not been very long as man and wife, when, one day, an individual dressed in the garb of a gentleman called upon Dr. Wallis. After some little conversation, the man, in a very gruff voice, said, 'Sir, did you not bring *a woman* from the south with you?' 'No, Sir,' replied Dr. Wallis, 'I am not aware that I did.' 'Why,' retorted the other, 'did you not bring your wife from the south?' 'Yes,' replied Dr. Wallis, 'I believe my lady is from the south.' 'Your lady, as you call her, is my slave, and unless you give me 900 dollars for her at once, I will advertise her as a run-away slave. She is honestly worth 1000 dollars, but as you have married her, I will let you have her for 900.' Struck with astonishment, Dr. Wallis said, 'Your slave, sir, I don't believe it!' 'Believe it or not,' replied the other, 'you will find it correct; I shall leave the bill, and if you do not send the money to me before such a time to such a hotel (naming the time and place) I will advertise her in all the papers as a run-away slave.' As soon as the man was gone, Dr. Wallis went up stairs to his amiable, and lovely, and accomplished (for by this time he had given the finish to a previously imperfect education) wife, and said, 'My love, when I married you, were you a slave?' She burst into tears, and falteringly said, 'I was,' 'And why did you not tell me this before we were married?' 'I did not dare to tell you,' she replied, 'I feared you would never think of forming an alliance with a slave.' 'Well,' said he, 'I have found you out; but I will give the 900 dollars, for I love you far too well ever to part with you.' During this time she was deeply agitated,

and requested Dr. Wallis to describe to her the individual who had claimed her as his slave. He gave her as accurate a description of the man as he could, and then asked her if it corresponded with her former master. ‘Yes,’ said she, ‘and more than my master; *that man is my own father!!!*’ This is but one of thousands upon thousands of cases which are constantly coming into notice. The blackest features of this system must ever, in a mixed assembly like this, be thrown into the shade altogether.”

But what, it may be asked, are the electors and the elected of this “free” and “enlightened” Commonwealth about, while these scenes of dark turpitude,—these flagrant outrages upon every just and humane principle,—are passing around them, in the broad gaze of day? Are there none amongst their “potent, grave, and reverend seigniors,” possessing sufficient spirit and patriotism to lift up the voice of remonstrance and indignation against deeds which involve a disgrace so absolute and complete as to be without parallel in any other portion of the civilized world?—none patriotic enough to demand the discontinuance of such flagrant violations of their political creed, and to mourn the deep guilt which, as an independent nation, America has contracted by tolerating the frightful system for so lengthened a period? By an overwhelming majority, it is still allowed to maintain its polluted seat “in the boasted home of freedom; *its strongholds are still the pillars of American liberty; its throne is still the nation’s heart; its minions are still republican statesmen; its victims are still native-born Americans!* Amidst the galaxy of republican and religious institutions, it has its sphere and its name. The aegis of republican law is its shield, and the flag of freedom its shelter! Legal enactments lay no arrest upon it; public opinion rears no dams across it; popular indignation neither checks its current, nor turns it aside; but onward it flows for ever,—America’s favourite stream, though from its bosom ascends one ceaseless wail of woe!”*

It has been said, that “the peculiarity of American

* See the reply of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the eighth question of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society *p. 67 of “Slavery and the Internal Slave-Trade of America.”*

slavery is, *that it is hopeless*, and, as far as human laws can make it, *perpetual*." I am not, however, one of those who take this desponding view. Hope has not left *all* the friends of abolition to Despair! For wise purposes, Sovereign Wisdom has implanted the passion of Hope so deeply in the human heart, that it would be next to impossible to point out any period in the world's history in which it exerted not its cheering and vivifying influences on the spirits of the brave and good. In favour of liberty, justice, and humanity, burning and shining lights have appeared in all ages and countries, thirsting and eager for the extension of their boundaries, and the permanent establishment of their principles on the basis of divine truth. In America, no small degree of fortitude is required to stand up as champions of the slave, and to assert the supremacy of equal justice, under all the fulminations that the indecent exercise of power and malice can hurl about them. But, in noble defiance of these disadvantages, brilliant instances have there appeared of men who have shown how well they were entitled to be called "friends of liberty" in the most exalted and comprehensive sense of that term. Their politics had their basis in deep consistency, and they fearlessly asked Congress to carry out their professions of respect for political equality, and the inalienable rights of man! How these requests have been received and replied to, history but too painfully records! The result of one debate in Congress, in 1837, may be summed up in the following resolution, passed on the 21st of December, in that year :

"That all petitions and resolutions praying for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, and ALL MEMORIALS OR RESOLUTIONS IN RELATION TO SLAVERY IN THE DIFFERENT STATES, should be laid upon the table, *without reading, without reference, without printing, and without discussion!* — Carried by 135 against 60!"

Free inquiry is no friend to slave-holders ; and it is therefore not surprising that slave-holders should be no friends to free inquiry. Consequently, to the present hour, this disgraceful resolution, so utterly destructive of the constitutional privilege of petition,—a resolution better suited to the darkness of the Middle Ages than to

the meridian of the nineteenth century,—remains unre-scinded!* The hundred and thirty-five advocates of “slavery as it is,” who so shamefully abused their power in this instance, may attempt to gloss over their guilt,

“ And with *necessity*,
The tyrant’s plea, excuse the dev’lish deed !”

but there are those who will brand it as a sacrifice im-molated on the altar of Satan, to provide a peace-offering to the slave-holding States.† After such an exhibition of inhuman selfishness in the *representatives* of republican America, it is not to be wondered at that the *represented* should follow in their wake, and strive to repress agitation “out of doors,” and to stifle all discussion on the *tender* subject. In this ignoble work, General Garrison, when he was President, did not think it derogatory to his dignity to lend his aid. “The attempt of those of one State to controul the *domestic institutions* (how delicate!) of another,” said he, in his inaugural address, “can only result in feelings of distrust and jealousy, the certain harbingers of disunion, violence, civil wars, and the ultimate destruction of our *free* institutions!” When apology for slavery and discouragement of its opponents were thus deliberately uttered by the chief magistrate of the United States, no one could be surprised that the noble army who spent their time and their fortunes in the cause of the slave should so frequently be in danger of personal injury from the deep malignity of a ferocious public opinion. Of many of them, it might be truly said, that they “carried their lives in their hands,” so imminent was the risk they run in advocating true freedom and philanthropy in a land of professed freemen and philanthropists! It was, as it is now, common to designate them by the most opprobrious epithets, and to speak

* “This sacrilege has been repeated at each successive session since 1837, and with aggravated atrocity, at each subsequent period, until Congress has fully consummated its own ignominy, by embodying the shameless outrage amongst the standing rules of the house.”—*Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade*, p. 218.

† “Although the free States elect a majority of the members of Congress, the slave States have, for all practical purposes, the entire ascendancy.”—*Slavery and the Internal Slave-Trade*, p. 11.

of them as "reckless incendiaries, deserving instant death ; as fanatics, whose doctrines and measures are alike inimical and monstrous, wild and chimerical, and *repugnant to the GOOD SENSE of the community ! !*" It were well if the fiendish hatred against the abolitionists vented itself only in this kind of "sound and fury ;" but, unhappily, the case is far otherwise. Their property has often been wantonly destroyed, and they themselves obliged to effect a precipitate retreat, to escape with life.* Escape, however, in all cases, has not been found practicable. The Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, into whose soul the Spirit of Christianity had breathed the breath of benevolence, ventured, some years ago, to conduct a newspaper, in which the wrongs of Africa, and the duty of Christian freemen regarding them, were ably set forth ; and, as this was done at Alton, a town in the "FREE" state of Illinois, what honourable mind could imagine that a crime was thereby committed ? But a crime, of the deepest dye, it was, nevertheless, pronounced to be, and sentence of death awarded as its appropriate punishment. The decree went forth, and a band of pro-slavery ruffians were the executioners ! The editor of the New York "Emancipationist" concluded an able article on this deliberate murder in these words : Alas ! that this should be his appropriate epitaph :

“ A MARTYR
To the Fury of a *Free* People,
MURDERING
IN DEFENCE OF SLAVERY ! ”

* "I have seen," says Miss Martineau, "the lithographic prints, transmitted in letters to abolitionists, representing the individual to whom the letter was sent hanging on a gallows. I have seen the hand-bills, purporting to be issued by Committees of Vigilance, offering enormous rewards for the heads or for the ears of prominent abolitionists."—*Society in America*, Vol. II., p. 340.

† See also p. 237, 242 and 3, of *Slavery and the Internal Slave-Trade*. "Not long ago," says Dr. Channing, "there were rumours that some of our citizens wanted to suppress, by law, all discussion,

It is difficult so to restrain the feelings as to write calmly on a crime which has no parallel in the black catalogue of human turpitude! Looking at the *offence*, and looking at the *punishment*, who can help mourning over the departed greatness of American freedom? Dreadful, indeed, is that state of society, when citizens can glory in murdering their neighbours who have done nothing with which they have any just ground to be offended, and when no law, either human or divine, required their interference! It is not possible to speak in terms of reprehension too emphatic or too severe of the brutal actors in this

“Murder most foul, as in the best it is,
But this most foul, strange, and unnatural !”

The deep disgust and perfect horror, which every rightly constituted mind must feel at their inhuman conduct, receive a new stimulant from the fact, that men of respectability and station (so styled) can be found in America to stamp it with the seal of their approbation! The following extracts will not only show this degrading and humiliating fact, but also exhibit the daring manner in which incentives to similar deeds of blood may be held out with impunity in that “land of freedom :”

“Mr. Hammond, of South Carolina, in a speech before Congress in the year 1836, said, ‘I warn the abolitionists,— ignorant, infatuated barbarians, as they are, that if chance shall throw any of them into our hands, he may expect a *felon’s death*.’

“Mr. Lumpkin remarked in the senate, (January, 1838) ‘If abolitionists went to Georgia, they would be *caught*;’ and Mr. Preston declared, in the same debate, ‘Let an abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina, if we can catch him, we will try him, and notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments on earth, including the Federal Government, *we will HANG HIM !*’”*

After such unequivocal invocations to outrage and assassination, who can be surprised at the barbarous readiness of the myrmidons of slavery to commit sanguinary violence on abolitionists, and prove how much more they value the indulgence of their own licentious and ferocious

all expression of opinion, on slavery, and to *send to the south* such members of our community as might be CLAIMED AS INSTIGATORS OF INSURRECTION.”—*Essay on Slavery*, Chap. VIII.

* *Slavery and the Internal Slave-Trade*, p. 217.

passions than the rights, liberties, and lives of their fellow-citizens? The threats held out by the three *senators*, whose diabolical language has just been quoted, were uttered, be it noticed, not in a secret conclave of fiends, not in the bandit's cave, but in the legislative assembly of the *free and enlightened* city of Washington, in which the *collective wisdom* of the United States "do love to congregate," to pass laws for the government of the Commonwealth!—laws to oppose a barrier to the inroads of vice, to strengthen the ramparts of virtue, to protect the native beauty of morality?—laws to shew the individual advantages, as well as the benefits to society, which result from respecting those rights which render man estimable amongst his species! Thus we see

"The sorder of civilization mixed
With all the savage that man's fall hath fixed!"

Divesting myself, however, of those feelings which naturally arise from the contemplation of this offence, in a *moral* point of view, it may be well to consider it, for a moment, in a *political* sense, as connected with the American system of government, and embracing, in its consequences, the whole latitude of society. What kind of senators must they be, who, for the sake of furthering a particular project of despotism, utterly unconstitutional in itself, and destructive of public freedom in its operation, give sanction to robbery, assassination, and all those other vices, which, in their legislative character, they denounce and punish? What confidence in such law-makers can exist amongst a people whose property and lives are placed in a perpetual state of insecurity? To behold the whole system of justice and morality, which form the base on which the security of society depends, so completely overthrown as it was in this instance, is a contemplation replete with melancholy sensations to every well-regulated mind! An equal indecency, under any circumstances whatever, would deserve severe reprobation; but, flowing from the lips of representatives of professedly *free* people, and instigated by a wish to sanction and applaud ferocious mobs, collected with the illegal view of *taking the law into their own hands*, for the insufferable purpose of forming an *imperium in imperio*, in order to stifle all opinion on the

side of abolition,—it is intolerable! Legislators of a professedly *free* people, wandering from their legitimate and proper path for so indefensible an object as this, commit a breach of senatorial order, a trespass upon forbidden ground, that startles the admirers of public justice, and the lovers of civil rights and rational freedom! Their hearts, indeed, must beat high with indignation at the bare recital of such an infamous disregard of all the common decencies of life! Murderers are to be found in all countries; but it is to be hoped that, in America alone, can threats to employ them against the asserters of the negro's rights, and the defenders of those principles which heaven itself has implanted in the nature of an intellectual and responsible being, be openly made with impunity.*

This picture of the political anomaly of Slavery in America, true as hideous, and hideous as true, is too obviously faithful to require its being pressed upon belief. Repulsive, however, as it must have appeared, when it was inserted in the first edition of this work, sixteen years ago, recent occurrences in America have added deeply even to its darkest shades! Congress was not satisfied with making it one of its standing rules, that all memorials or resolutions, in relation to slavery in the different States, should be laid upon the table, "without reading, without reference, without printing, and without discussion;" but it has since consummated its own deep

* It also occasionally happens in America, that this impunity is sanctioned from the Bench as well as in the Senate. Miss Martineau gives the following, which occurred in the year 1836: "The charge of Judge LAWLESS (his real name) to the grand jury is a sufficient commentary upon the state of St. Louis' society. He told the jury that a bad and lamentable deed had been committed, *IN BURNING A MAN ALIVE, WITHOUT TRIAL*; but that it was *quite another question whether they were to take any notice of it!* If it should be proved to be the act of the *few*, every one of those few ought, undoubtedly, to be indicted and punished; but if it should be proved to be the act of the *many*, incited by that *electric and metaphysical influence* which occasionally carries on a multitude to do deeds *above and beyond the law*, it was *no affair for a jury to interfere in!* He spoke of Mackintosh (the murdered man) *as connected with the body of abolitionists*. Of course, the affair was found to be *electric and metaphysical*, and all proceedings were dropped!"—*Retrospect of Western Travel*, Vol. II., p. 208.

degradation, by enacting laws to rivet the yoke of slavery still more gallingly around the necks of its victims. The fierce spirit of the South brought, with additional force, its demoniacal resentment to bear on the abolitionists of the North ; and the enactment of what is termed "the fugitive slave law," about six years since, gave some idea of the length to which the vindictive aggression of the pro-slavery portion of Congress could be carried. By this monstrous law, the slave-owner was permitted to pursue and to re-capture his runaway victim, even in the very heart of States, hitherto held sacred from such atrocities! As to the *monstrous vindictiveness* with which it allows the slaveholder to pursue any offending abolitionist, the following, from the "Quarterly Review," of April last, will serve as a specimen :

"A Mr. Pardon Davis, of Marquette County, in the State of Wisconsin, was temporarily resident at Tensas, in Louisiana, near which was a plantation, the scene of horrible cruelty. Some negroes escaped from it, took refuge in his wood-yard, were concealed by him, and sent in a canoe across the river. A negro-hunter discovered their trail, hunted them for forty miles, overtook them, and gave them to his dogs to be worried, until, at last, they confessed whence they came, and who had assisted them. For this *crime*, Mr. Davis was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment in the State prison of Louisiana, and is now at Baton Rouge, undergoing his punishment."

When this infamous "fugitive slave law" was before the American legislature, it was protested against as a daring assault upon the constitutional rights of the *white* population, as well as a diabolical addition to the wrongs of the slaves. One of its most determined opponents, the Honorable Charles Sumner, addressed the Senate of the United States, on the 26th of August, 1852, in a burst of eloquence that would have shamed any other professedly Christian and enlightened assembly on the face of the earth from perpetrating the iniquity. The following is extracted from the address :

"The Slave Act," says Mr. Sumner, " violates the Constitution, and shocks the public conscience. With modesty, and yet with firmness, let me add, Sir, it offends against the Divine law. . . . The good citizen, as he thinks of the shivering fugitive, guilty of no crime, pursued, hunted down like a beast, while praying for Chris-

tian help and deliverance, and as he reads the requirements of this act, is filled with horror ! Again, let me speak frankly. Not rashly would I set myself against any provision of law. This grave responsibility I should not lightly assume. But here the path of duty is clear. By the Supreme law, which commands me to do no injustice; by the comprehensive Christian law of brotherhood ; by the Constitution which I have sworn to support ; I am bound to disobey this act. Never, in any capacity, can I render voluntary aid in its execution. Pains and penalties I will endure, but this great wrong, I will not do. 'I cannot obey, but I can suffer,' was the exclamation of the author of 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' when imprisoned for disobedience to an earthly statute. Better suffer injustice than do it ! Better be the victim than the instrument of wrong. Better be even the poor slave, returned to bondage, than the unhappy commissioner.

"Finally, for the sake of peace and tranquillity, cease to shock the public conscience. . . . Mindful of the lowly whom it pursues ; mindful of the good men perplexed by its requirements ; in the name of charity, in the name of the Constitution, repeal this enactment totally, and without delay ! Be inspired by the example of Washington ; be admonished by those words of Oriental piety, ' Beware of the groans of wounded souls. Oppress not to the utmost a single heart, for a solitary sigh has power to overset a whole world.' "

These burning words failed to have their due effect on those to whom they were immediately addressed ; and that abominable act of legislation is still tenaciously retained as the bond of the Union of the States, and the basis of that compromise, which is to secure the confederation, and add to the stability of the "*free*" institutions of America ! A country in a state of revolution is a country without law ; but a country, the legislators of which are thus permitted to violate the social moral law, as well as the social written law, is in a position still worse ! As both these laws are equally imperative, in furtherance of the great aim of human happiness, and cases are continually occurring, which render even a departure from the written constitutional law less hurtful than the violation of the moral law, it results that, where both are set at defiance, the political compact is severed, and the limits of a just authority are effaced. Right is crushed under the heel of Force ; and it signifies but little, in principle, whether such acts, as "the fugitive slave law," are effected by the undisciplined hordes of a

popular insurrection, or by the representatives of republican power! Acts of Legislature require for their basis a principle, not of those fallacious reasons, called "reasons of State," but of truth, justice, and humanity; for are there not *eternal* boundaries, *constitutional* principles,—clear and unchangeable distinctions of right and wrong,—obligations of humanity,—of the laws of *nations* and of *nature*,—which no earthly authority ever can supersede? To men who, like Mr. Sumner, seek, through all the changes of political life, to maintain inviolate the sacred principles of the inalienable rights of man, by which alone any society can be honestly and freely governed, it matters, comparatively little, for *what object*, or by *what form* of government, these righteous principles are violated. But, if one such object be more detestable than another, it is surely the object sought to be effected by the "fugitive slave law;" and if the violation of right be more despicable under one form of government than another, the *Republican* form must surely add to the depth of the die! Any government, indeed, founded on slavery, emblazons a pretended title, and is tainted to its very core! It can only be kept together by fraud and force; for it repudiates, openly, those very obligations of respect for justice, which it is the first duty of every community to support!

But the enactment of "the fugitive slave law," great as was the humiliation which it inflicted on the abolitionists of the North, did not satisfy the rampant pride of the slaveholders of the South, nor stay their aggressive and sanguinary policy. It rather operated as fuel to the fire of their burning hate against those whom they styled "free-soilers." The recent diabolical doings in the new territory of Kansas are now historical facts, which sufficiently illustrate the bloodthirsty hatred; and it may be questioned whether any equal sanguinary episode in the history of the world has any equal in the records of mankind who have been such

* The St. James and indoor every scoundrel

General S. in where he said "I tell you

enormities, without an effort to stop or redress them, deserves to be handed down to all posterity, with every opprobrium which infamy can inflict !

Amongst those who raised the voice of execration on the persecuting spirit and exterminating violence against the free emigrants in Kansas, that of Mr. Sumner was, perhaps, the most withering and mortifying to the extreme southern party in Congress. "Slavery," said he, "now stands erect, clanking its chains, on the territory of Kansas, surrounded by a code of death, and trampling upon all cherished liberties, whether of speech, the press, the bar, the trial by jury, or the electoral franchise." He added to this some pungent remarks on those who stood forward in the defence of that enormity; but, as those whom he censured were unable to refute what he advanced, they took a course which cannot but greatly add to the infamy of their other proceedings. The Honorable Preston S. Brooks, member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, was appointed to commit an assault on Mr. Sumner, which he did as he sat at his desk writing, after the adjournment of the House. Brooks struck him a severe blow over the head with a cane, and, while Mr. Sumner was reeling under its effects, Brooks struck him several other blows with great force and rapidity. *No one of the many persons about interfered to check the dastardly outrage!* Mr. Sumner has, even now, hardly recovered from this brutal treatment, and has not since been able to resume his senatorial duties.

This is one of those subjects on which the task of commenting cannot be otherwise than revolting! If any

or free-soilism, and exterminate him! Neither give nor take quarter from the . . . rascals! I propose to mark them in this house, and on the present occasion; so you may crush them out. To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, state or national, the time has come when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger. I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver! Neither give nor take quarter, as the cause demands it! It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills it, from which there *is no appeal*.—"The Conquest of Kansas, by Missouri and her Allies. By W. Phillips, Boston. 1856. Page 47.

circumstance could aggravate the conduct of Brooks, it would be the monstrosity of his having committed the assault in the Senate-house, and in the presence of many of his fellow senators, none of whom interfered to check his dastardly hand! The painful feeling excited by this disgraceful acquiescence in an unlawful deed is further heightened by the fact, that Mr. Sumner's appeal for legal redress was answered by an American Court of *Justice* awarding him 300 dollars, as damages! While so shameful a perversion of justice was indignantly condemned by every man of correct principles, the perpetrator of the foul deed received *thanks* and *presents* from public meetings, in South Carolina!

The way in which the slaveholders' press look at such monstrosities, may be seen by the following extract, from "The Richmond Inquirer," of June 12, 1856:

"In the main, the press of the South applaud the conduct of Mr. Brooks, without condition or limitation. Our approbation, at least, is entire and unreserved. We consider the act good in conception, better in execution, and best of all in consequence. The vulgar abolitionists in the senate are getting above themselves. They have been humoured until they forget their position. They have grown saucy, and dare to be impudent to gentlemen! Now, they are a low, mean, scurvy set, with some little book-learning, but as utterly devoid of spirit or honour as a pack of curs. Intrenched behind "privilege," they fancy they can slander the south, and insult its representatives with impunity. The truth is, they have been suffered to run too long without collars. They must be lashed into submission. Sumner, in particular, ought to have nine-and-thirty early every morning. He is a great strapping fellow, and could stand the cowhide beautifully! Brooks frightened him, and, at the first blow of the cane, he bellowed like a bull-calf! In the absence of an adequate law, southern gentlemen must protect their own honour and feelings. It is an idle mockery to challenge one of these scullions. It is equally useless to attempt to disgrace them. They are insensible to shame, and can be brought to reason only by an application of cowhide or gutta-percha. Let them once understand that, for every vile word spoken against the south, they will suffer so many stripes, and they will soon learn to behave themselves like decent dogs; they can never be gentlemen. Mr. Brooks has initiated this salutary discipline, and he deserves applause for the bold, judicious manner in which he chastised the scamp Sumner. It was a proper act, done at the proper time, and in the proper place."

"Of all places on earth, the Senate-chamber, the theatre of his

vituperative exploits, was the very spot where Sumner should have been made to suffer for his violation of the decencies of decorous debate, and for his brutal denunciation of a venerable statesman. It was literally and entirely proper that he should be stricken down and beaten just beside the desk against which he leaned, as he fulminated his filthy utterances through the capitol! It is idle to talk of the sanctity of the Senate-chamber, since it is polluted by the presence of such fellows as Wilson, and Sumner, and Wade. They have desecrated it, and cannot now fly to it as to a sanctuary from the lash of vengeance.

"We trust other gentlemen will follow the example of Mr. Brooks,* so that a curb may be imposed upon the truculence and audacity of abolition speakers. If need be, let us have a caning or cowhiding every day. If the worst come to the worst, so much the sooner, so much the better."

The extravagant, unnatural, and horrible sentiments here avowed, not barely demand censure, but excite the most painful disgust, and extort the liveliest reprobation! But the demonstrated fact is still more disgusting, that such a paper as the "*Richmond Inquirer*" is but one of the unscrupulous organs of those who hold several millions of their fellow-men in fast and brutal bondage! Absolute power over the persons of others is so wild and monstrous a thing, that no class of men ought to possess it; but, least of all, should it be entrusted to beings who seem prepared to do anything, even the worst and blackest deeds, to preserve it within their blood-stained grasp!

There is another evil arising out of this anomalous state of things in America, which adds to the pain inflicted

* The termination of the career of this pet of the slavery faction is thus recorded in "*American Slavery and Colour*," just published: "The assault by Mr. Brooks did not escape reproof in the House of Representatives. He resigned, and was re-elected. Although his conduct so far met with the approval of his constituents,—although feted and lauded,—Brooks was probably conscious that an indelible stain would rest on his reputation. At Washington, in the early part of the session 1856-7, he is said to have encountered cold looks from former acquaintances. His fate was remarkable. He was suddenly seized with an inflammation of the throat, resulting in croup. By this fatal disease, his life was abruptly and painfully terminated, January 27, 1857,—an event which, from all the associated circumstances, could hardly fail to send a chill through that department of southern society which had indi-creetly applauded his *outrage*."

on the real friends of freedom throughout the world. The enemies of popular liberty are in the habit of citing the sayings and doings of these Republican Slaveholders as evidence against all liberal institutions. But the simple truth is, that slavery could not exist for a day under *purely* liberal institutions, the spirit of which would speedily extinguish any such abomination that came within their sphere of action. The apostate democrats of America are not to be confounded with the consistent advocates of rational freedom. The latter are not to be denounced for the faults or the infamy of others who persist in calling themselves by the same name. If otherwise, by a parity of reasoning, the upright zeal of every man, whether manifested in a struggle for civil or for religious liberty, might, with equal propriety, mark him as an object for odium, because others who professed the same creed had forsaken every particle of it!

The enemies of genuine liberty, however, can gather no argument in favour of their theories from the outbreaks of malignancy and intolerance. Genuine liberty can form no natural association with crime and disorder, which are as hostile to her dictates as subversive of her spirit. She teaches her votaries those heaven-born principles which are conservative of harmony, improve their natural sense of right and wrong, induce them to submit the indulgence of their passions to wholesome restrictions, so that no power is possessed, nor wished to be possessed, of invading the rights of their neighbours. These are a few of the characteristics of what is understood, in the advancing light and conviction of the public mind, by the term LIBERTY; and it is too palpable to be insisted on at any length, that genuine liberty is not answerable for the sins committed in her hallowed name. No one thinks of disowning good principles, because bad men have professed to love them, and make them the guides of their lives. "The true character of liberty," says Mr. Bucke, "is not to be libelled, because vicious men, in all the wantonness of licence, have formed so many schemes, and committed so many crimes, under the assumed privilege of her honourable name. How many an act of treachery

has been perpetrated under the names of friendship and love ! In spite of all this, these passions are still the most exalted of the virtues, and the most delightful feelings of the heart ; and since justice is the peculiar attribute of heaven, let liberty,—pure and unadulterated liberty,—be the idol of the good !"

CHAP. II.

TYRANNY EXERCISED TOWARDS THE "FREE" MEN OF COLOUR.

"What is freedom where all are not free,—where the greatest of God's blessings is limited by the most paltry of all distinctions,—A DIFFERENCE OF COLOUR?"—
LORD BROUHAM.

THERE is another anomaly in the political institutions of the United States, which, as it results from the iniquitous system of slavery, may properly be noticed here. This is what Dr. Morison has correctly designated "a system of *caste*, so utterly tyrannical as to render the emancipation of Africans in America, even in those States which have abandoned slavery, a comparative worthless boon." Indeed, so strong is the prejudice against colour there, that, in the striking language of a French traveller in the United States, (De Beaumont) it "haunts its victim wherever he goes: in the hospital, where humanity suffers; in the churches, where it kneels to God; in the prisons, where it expiates its offences; in the graveyards, where it sleeps the last sleep!"

To detail the various schemes and laws by which these unoffending men are harassed and persecuted,* and the systematic plans and local enactments for degrading and

* The legislature of one of the south-western States passed a law, one of the provisions of which was, that no man of colour was to go out after dark, except in certain specified cases of urgency, and then to be always provided with a lantern, or be liable to arrest and punishment. The order was *literally* obeyed, for each black carried a good and sufficient *empty* lantern! Hereupon, the angry legislators passed 'an act to amend an act,' &c. That, too, was obeyed, but with *unlighted* candles! Then out came a third act, with a preamble, commencing 'whereas, the plain intentions, &c., having been frustrated by certain wicked evasions,' &c., ordained that 'said candles should be *lighted*;' and lighted they were by the obedient Ebonites. Now, plain mother wit must have the credit of all their shrewdness; for it occurred in a State where the penalty of death is menaced at all who shall dare to instruct them in reading or writing."—*Thomason's Men and Things in America*, p. 194-5.

retaining them in ignorance, would far exceed the limits assigned to this chapter. Let it suffice, therefore, to give a summary of their cruel wrongs, and social and political grievances, which I shall draw from the publications of Judge Jay, J. G. Birney, esq., and the New York Anti-Slavery Examiner,— all American witnesses of high character and first-rate respectability.

To political and civil rights, in their comprehensive sense, they are utter strangers. Though there exists no enactment to disfranchise them, they are not suffered to approach the ballot-box ;*—neither will white men, generally speaking, teach them trades, sit with them in public places, or ride with them in public conveyances. Nay, to such a height is this contemptible prejudice carried, that, in nearly all the places of worship, in the *free*, as well as in the slave, States, there is a *particular pew* set apart for negro accommodation ! Those not merely black, but those also who have the slightest tint of the loathed colour, are scrupulously consigned to this condemned cell, as if contamination were in their touch, and in their breath pollution ! No power on earth, it is true, can implant a consciousness of guilt within the breast of innocence ; but, as a sense of shame depends more upon the various degrees of nervous strength than upon the firmness of intellect, or the certainty of exculpation, the peace of these inoffensive men is constantly open to assault, and their days embittered by undeserved persecution and insult. They are daily subjected to every kind of indignity, and are commonly denominated “greater nuisances than even slaves themselves,” “a vile excrescence upon society,” “a curse and contagion wherever they reside,” “an anomalous race of beings, the most depraved upon earth,” and “notoriously ignorant, degraded, and miserable.”

* “That taxation and representation should be inseparable,” says the *Anti-Slavery Examiner*, “was one of the axioms of the fathers of our revolution, and one of the reasons they assigned for their revolt from the crown of Britain. But now, it is deemed a mark of fanaticism to complain of the disfranchisement of a whole race, while they remain subject to the burden of taxation.”—*A. J. S.*

If these poor, persecuted, but generally amiable, people are not what they are here described to be, it is certainly not the fault of their persecutors, who strain every nerve to render them vicious, debased, and wretched. Not only can their elective rights be set aside, with impunity, and all the valuable laws, in which are comprised the security of the subject, be suspended at pleasure where *coloured* men are concerned, but, lest they should raise themselves, by mental improvement, to that state of respectability of which they are capable, under proper instruction, their education is almost universally discouraged, and many of the States have passed laws to inflict penalties on "any person who teaches a *free* negro to read or write." These penalties vary from fine, whipping, imprisonment, and *death*! Yes, startling as is the fact, we have it on record, that "In Louisiana, the penalty for instructing a free black in a Sunday-school, is, for the first offence, five hundred dollars; for the second offence, DEATH!" This almost incredible sentence is given in the very words of Judge Jay, in his "*Slavery in America*," (p. 17,) a work to which those, who desire a full and faithful account of the infamous laws and disgraceful prejudices against these nominally *free* citizens, would do well to refer. In the "*Proceedings of the New York Colonial Society*," it is confessed to be "the business of the free,—THEIR SAFETY REQUIRES IT,—to keep the blacks in ignorance." Surely the cup of their calamity was sufficiently full, in being compelled to remain the patient spectators of the annihilation of their political rights, and to every kind of personal indignity, without the increase of the pangs excited when they see that their very minds are also subjected to ruffianly invasion! Their republican tyrants can rest satisfied with nothing short of unqualified subjection; and, as the surest means of gaining for themselves the desired pre-eminence, they seek to perpetuate the intellectual and moral degradation of their victims. They well know that this must be effected, before the natural love of liberty, and the consequent desire to defend it, can be totally extinguished within them. For "*surely oppression maketh a wise man mad!*"

Thus, the coloured population of the United States are systematically deprived of every equitable right that appertains to civil and social life ; and the partial and anomalous administration is carried out in every conceivable manner, to the most pernicious extreme. Indeed, the unhappy *nominally-free* men of colour are never absolutely secure of their *personal liberty*. They are constantly exposed to seizure by the brutal kidnapper, and liable to be sold to labour in the south ! The Rev. Dr. Price thus speaks of this most infamous state of things :

“ One of the most revolting features in American Society is the insecurity of life and liberty amongst the **FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR**, in the *northern*, as well as in the southern, States. No free black is safe, even in the city of New York, without his parchment certificate about his body, at all times and in all places. A set of miscreants are constantly prowling about, who, under colour of searching for run-away slaves, kidnap those who never were slaves, and hurry them off into interminable bondage ! The papers published by the friends of the negro abound with the most frightful cases of oppression and cruelty of this kind. The laws passed for the protection of such persons are too feeble against that universal prejudice which is inherited by almost the entire population ; so that a case of wrong which, in England, would ring from one end of the land to the other, is but slightly regarded in America, however deep the interests that are involved ! ”

Confirmation of this horrible fact is given by Mr. Bourne, in his “ Picture of Slavery,” a short extract from which may not be thought unnecessary .

“ Nothing is more common than for two white kidnappers to demand the certificate of a black freeman, tear it in pieces, or secrete it, tie him to one of their horses, hurry to some jail, while one whips the *citizen* along as fast as their horses can travel. There, by an understanding with the jailer, who shares in the spoil, all possibility of intercourse with his friends is cut off. At the earliest possible period, the captive is sold to pay the felonious claims of the law, bought through jugglery, by this trio of men-stealers, and then transferred to some of their accomplices in iniquity, who fill every part of the southern States with fraud, rapine, and blood ! ”

Thus the term equality, so pompously preached, and often most absurdly practised, amongst the *white* citizens, loses its true signification when the *sable* race are concerned ; and thus it becomes a bye-word and a reproach,

to designate the intrinsic baseness of American polity! This baseness will appear the more glaring, when it is considered that, by the "Thirteen Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States," it is provided,

"That the *free* inhabitants of *any* of the States shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities of *free citizens* in any other State."

Here is a virtual stipulation for the protection of *all* free men, of whatever complexion, in the full enjoyment of those rights belonging to free men in a free country. In this clause, not the slightest hint is dropped whereby advantage could reasonably be taken for one man to oppress another.* The contract is clear and straightforward. Indeed, all doubt must have been removed from the subject by an attempt to alter the clause, to the exclusion of the negro. This attempt is noticed by Judge Jay. "While these articles," says he, "were under the consideration of Congress, it appears, from the Journals, that, on the 25th of June, 1778, the delegates from South Carolina moved the following amendment, *in behalf of their State*: In article fourth, between the words, *free inhabitants*, insert **WHITE**. Passed in the *negative*,—ayes, two States; nays, eight states; one state divided." "Here, then," adds that benevolent Judge, "was a solemn decision of the revolutionary Congress, that free negroes should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States."

After so clear an exposition of American law by one of their own Justices, is it not a monstrous anomaly in politics, that the American white people are permitted to perpetuate the most execrable despotism over their coloured fellow-citizens? Is it not humiliating to every

* "In some of the States, slavery was abolished by judicial decisions, made on the ground of express constitutional declarations, that 'ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL.' The States which thus abolished slavery are Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire." —*Slavery and the Internal Slave-Trade*, p. 169. That this good example was intended to have been followed by others, is evident from many facts connected with the early history of American independence.—See p. 229 to 236 of the same volume.

good man to behold how bad men are not only allowed, but encouraged, to contaminate the moral character of their country, and to destroy the equity of its civil code by transfixing it with the poisoned shaft of partiality? Is not the pernicious wrong so palpable, that its denial or doubt must be deemed rather the affectation of the heartless tyrant than a possible state of mind for an inquirer after truth? And, until the loud and continuous voice of the electors shall succeed in restoring the full right of petition, and in effecting a change that shall protect the coloured man from oppression, what means the boast of an American President, that "*all are upon an equality,**" —that there are certain rights possessed by each individual American citizen, which, in his compact with the others, he has *never surrendered*,—some of them, indeed, he is unable to surrender, being, in the language of our system, *inalienable?*" What, also, is meant by "The power of our sovereignty can interfere with no one's faith, *inflict no punishment but after well-ascertained guilt?*" The President must consider himself bound, by the most solemn sanctions, to guard, protect, and defend *the rights of ALL*, and of every portion, *great and small, from the injustice and oppression of the rest?*" I can conceive no more sublime spectacle, none more likely to propitiate an impartial and common Creator, than a *rigid adherence to the principles of justice on the part of a powerful nation in its transactions with a weaker and uncivilized people, whom circumstances had placed at its disposal?*"† Was it not pitiful thus to spout the worth of liberty, equality, and justice, and yet be a consenting party to a political system which has neither breadth nor grandeur in it, but which practically denies the rights of citizenship to all whose skins are darker than his own? The man whose understanding is liberated

* Mrs. Trollope speaks of the way in which the rights of *equality* are "guarded, protected, and defended from injustice and oppression." "The same man who beards his wealthier and more educated neighbour with the bullying boast, 'I am as good as you,' turns to his slave and knocks him down, if the furrow he has ploughed, or the log he has felled, please not this stickler for *equality*. There is a glaring falsehood on the very surface of such a man's principles that is *revolting!*!"—*Domestic Manners of the Americans*, Vol. II., p. 52.

† General Harrisou's Inaugural Address.

from the trammels of the narrow and baser passions of our nature is willing to acknowledge in a fellow-creature, of whatever clime or colour, a brother born to the same freedom and to an equal participation of the same civil immunities.

Let not the American senators continue to declaim on the beauties of "equality" and the duty of a "rigid adherence to the principles of justice," while they give so palpable a contradiction to their metaphysical theories by their unrighteous prejudices against men whose "inalienable rights" are entitled to as much respect as their own. So long as they refuse to purify their "domestic institutions" from the dark pollution of slavery,—so long as they refuse to erase from their statute-book all partial laws,—to what do their frothy speeches on the rights of man amount? Mere flourishes of language, contemptible solecisms, the cant of liberty, and an evident token of destitution in the sympathies allied to our common humanity!

"Oh! Freedom, Freedom, how I hate thy cant !
Not eastern bombast, nor the savage rant
Of purpled madmen, were they numbered all,
From Roman Nero down to Russian Paul,
Could grate upon my ear so mean, so base,
As the rank jargon of that factious race,
Who pant for license, while they spurn controul,
And shout for rights, with rapine in their soul !
Who can, with patience, for a moment see
The medley mass of pride and misery,
Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,
Of slaving blacks and democratic whites!"

Had they a tithe of the patriotism nominally passed to their credit, there is a moral certainty that no such "pyebald polity" would be tolerated for a single day. "In casting the yoke from ourselves as an unspeakable wrong," says Dr. Channing, "we condemn ourselves, as wrong-doers and oppressors, in laying it on any who share our nature." It is well that men of high standing and influence fail not to acknowledge and to deplore the unfaithfulness of these legislators, and to expose the unsoundness of their principles. Lamentation, however, is all that many of the Americans give to this subject, though it is far from being

their only duty. Ought they not, as men priding themselves on having rulers of their own appointment, and a government, all the powers of which are directly derived from the votes of the great body of the people, to use their best exertions for the return of members to Congress who would advocate a radical reform in their institutions,—a reform based on a more comprehensive view of the relations of man to man? They who desire to establish rational liberty upon a solid and lasting foundation can only do so by reducing their laws to the true principles of honesty and equity. These form the source of political greatness, and their correct appreciation an important accomplishment in the great art of legislation. The laws of America, however pernicious, are not immutable, like those of the Medes and Persians. As the enactments of America owe their existence to, so they can only be sustained by, the popular will. How easily, therefore, could the foul blots of slavery and prejudice against colour be removed from the national escutcheon, if the people at large would refuse to listen to the “croakings of a cowardly expediency,” and acknowledge, that in the path of principle alone lies the path of duty. And surely it is not so difficult to perceive this truth,—that whenever a state is found to destroy the rights, “the inalienable rights,” of one portion of the great family of man, for the gratification of the cupidity of another,—whenever it subjects men, guiltless of infringing any just law, (no matter what the pretence put forth) to be reduced to mere articles of merchandise, and treated, and sold like so many oxen, sheep, or horses,—that state is radically defective in its duties, and acts in palpable violation of the fundamental principles of immutable justice.

Above all, let the Americans destroy their enormous prejudice against the *colour** of the negro, “the most paltry of all distinctions.” In all controversies, prejudice has been found a more stubborn foe than reason. Prejudice,

“Once wedded fast
To some dear crotchet, hugs it to the last.”

* The weakness of this pride of colour is well reproved in the following anecdote: “The Indians call themselves *red men*, in

Its whole history offers an instructive warning of principles to be rejected and practices to be avoided. By a thousand obstructions, it turns the current of opinion into false channels, upholds inveterate abuses, fosters irrational differences, militates against an unbiassed expression of judgment, and prevents the maintenance of a wise and equitable power by the paternal assuasives of reason and redress. Let the Americans, then, put away this enemy to their peace ; for until that be done, it is vain to expect that they will allow all who possess the character of intellectual beings, whether drawn out in ebony or in ivory, to stand forth in dignified freedom. Till that antagonist be overcome, the coloured man, though *nominally free*, will not be a participant in the immunities which his fairer brethren agree to share among themselves as inalienable property. It is not enough that the principles of human right are generally understood, so long as they are but *partially admitted*, and acted upon ; because such understanding and practice may happen, and has happened, under the most absolute governments. It is the *obligation* a government feels to *recollect* and *act upon*, at all times, the principle on which public justice is based, which properly constitutes a *free* government ; and, in a *republic*, that obligation must flow from THE PEOPLE themselves, be exhibited in their representatives, and owned and respected by every member of their executive. Until this comprehensive and righteous code of polity be acknowledged by the electors of the United States, and its very nature and essence carried into full and complete operation, they must expect their pretended institutions of equality and justice contradistinction to the whites and blacks, wherever such are known to exist. Generally, they pride themselves much on their colour,—its coppery darkness being considered a peculiar mark of excellence. The chiefs and influential men, in some of the tribes, *object to intermarriages with the WHITES*, on account of the aberration from this standard colour which is exhibited in the offspring,—WHITE being regarded characteristic of EFFEMINACY and COWARDICE, and all the shades between it and their own as naturally influenced by those qualities, in proportion as it preponderates. The Indians universally believe that the Great Spirit, when he created all things, exercised a partiality in their favour, which was indelibly registered in their colour!"—*Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians of North America, from Childhood to the age of Nineteen*, by John. D. Hunter page 42.

to be looked upon as dead ramifications and sapless absurdities ! Until they earnestly apply themselves, by all legal means, to sever the chord that binds their prejudice to their duty, without staying to ask what is expedient, but simply what is right, let the Americans, as a nation, forego all claims to be considered as consistent politicians and genuine philanthropists. So long as they confound all the recognised distinctions of right and wrong, by maintaining that there shall be one rule of right for the black man, and another for the white man,—that the act which is *detestable* when practised towards the latter, is *justifiable* when practised towards the former,—their legislation will shed not a healthy glow, but sicken in a baneful atmosphere. Like a bloated Pagod, their mercenary despotism will stand forth in inglorious contrast with their assumed liberality ; and the motto on their floating banners, that “ ALL MEN WERE BORN FREE AND EQUAL,” exhibit a disgusting incompatibility with the existence of a slave-market at Washington ! General Lafayette witnessed, with grief and indignation, this monstrous inconsistency, as well as the fearful prevalence of the prejudice against colour ; and, in the bitterness of his heart, he exclaimed, “ If the ghosts of the leaders in the revolutionary war (in which no distinction was made between the black and white soldiers) could arise in majestic array, before the American nation on their great anniversary, and hold up before them the mirror of their constitution, *in the light of its first principles*, where would the people hide themselves from the blasting radiance ! ” Until Justice effect an alteration more in harmony with those first principles, let the real condition of the United States be emblazoned on their national flags. For “ All men were born free and equal,” let the *emaciated negro*, with his neck galled by their yoke, and his limbs furrowed by their fetters, accompanied by the *soul-driver*, flourishing his blood-reeking whip, be their prominent emblems, that thus these republicans may be humiliated in the eyes of Honesty and Truth ! Consistency, righteous policy, the dictates of conscience, the wrongs of the suffering, the terrors of crime, alike call for this national humiliation ; and, till it be effected, their repentance will be incomplete, and the hope of melioration as delusive as it is chimerical !

PART II.
ITS OUTRAGE ON CHRISTIANITY.

CHAP. I.

TREATMENT OF SLAVES AND "FREE" MEN OF COLOUR
BY THE PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY.

Slavery in America involves one characteristic which inconceivably augments its hideous enormity, and renders its criminality most heinous. The foundation and stronghold of man-stealing are in the Churches! Whatever may have been its unutterable wickedness in the West Indian Islands, there it never was baptized with the Redeemer's hallowed name, and its corruptions were not concealed in the garb of religion. That aene of the piratical turpitude was reserved for the professed disciples of Jesus in America!—*ECLECTIC REVIEW*.

THE system of harsh and unrelenting despotism, of which I have given but a faint outline in the previous part of this little work, must appear so repugnant to all who entertain a proper regard for personal liberty and the common feelings of humanity, so insulting to the understanding of all persons possessed of common sense and common integrity, that the amazement is, how the major part of the American people can show themselves so utterly destitute of moral sense, as to stand up in defence of its uninterrupted existence! This amazement can only be lessened by the supposition, that the "tyrant majority" is made up from the most abandoned of the human race,—of men reckless of the reproach and odium to which so vile a line of policy must inevitably subject its upholders. Individuals there are, indeed, from whom no better things were to be expected,—who, professing no loftier views of right than the right of the strongest, garnishing over their sentiments with none of the glare and tinsel of a false virtue, self-conceived and self-defined, but not capable of enduring the only legitimate test, have no ambition to impose themselves upon mankind for any thing beyond what they pretend to be. But what is to be said to the disgraceful and astounding statement at

the head of this chapter? *Are the foundation and stronghold of man-stealing really in the churches of America?* Are the ministers, deacons, elders, and church-members, who participate in all the hideous enormities of this monster-crime, and thus deserve to be numbered amongst the perpetrators of the most execrable injustice, the guilty participants in the most nefarious of traffics,—the very *acme of piratical turpitude?* “Facts are stubborn things,” and they have announced, with a plainness not to be misunderstood, that it is even so!—that numerous professors of religion, throughout the broad lands of the United States, act as if they acknowledged neither regard for humanity, obedience to honesty, nor veneration for the dictates of Christianity! This truth is humiliating, deeply humiliating, to those who desire the extension of the Redeemer’s kingdom, and who strive to uphold the purity of the Christian character, and the dignity of the human intellect. But they have a duty to perform; and, however painful the task, they will not cease to expose this monstrous outrage on their common Christianity, and to proclaim to the world, that they hold no fellowship with iniquity, no matter under what name it passes current, or in which quarter of the globe it is committed.

In the volume of “Questions and Replies,” laid before the English public by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, some years ago, every thing previously advanced on this subject was confirmed, and more than confirmed in some instances of a very painful nature. From this volume may be learned, not merely that almost all sections of the professed Christian Church, as well in the nominally-free as in the openly-avowed slave-states, were “deeply implicated in the guilt of slavery,” but that “THEY ARE MAINLY ANSWERABLE FOR ITS CONTINUANCE!”

“They are slave-holders to as great an extent proportionably as the openly irreligious. With the exception of the ‘Friends,’ ‘Covenanters,’ ‘United Brethren,’ ‘Primitive Methodists,’ and the ‘Emancipation Baptists,’ (the four last-named sects having but very few churches) there is not a single denomination in the slave-states which forbids slave-holding among its members! So far from any

obstacles being placed in the way, there is *every encouragement* to own slaves held out to them ! If any one should feel *conscientious* scruples about it, the *example* of his pastor and the church-officers amply satisfies him that his misgivings are the result of weakness ! Or, if this should not perfectly convince him, a lecture or sermon from his minister, proving slavery a *divine institution*, cannot fail to do so ! They do also, in the main, exact as much labour, employ as barbarous overseers, stint the food, clothing, and sleep of their slaves, and furnish them as wretched lodgings, as other masters. They flog as severely and as frequently, lacerate, bruise, maim, crop, brand, gash, kick, chain, and imprison, with the same relentless barbarity; allow licentiousness to as great an extent, and equally neglect the education and religious instruction of their slaves. They sell and buy human beings, and often separate husbands and wives,* parents and children,† *without losing thereby their church-*

* "In 1835, the following *query*, referring to slaves, was presented to the Savannah-River Baptist Association of Ministers :

"Whether, in case of involuntary separation of such a character as to preclude all prospect of future intercourse, the parties ought to be allowed to marry again ?"

"*Answer:* 'That such separation among persons, situated as our slaves are, is *civilly* a separation *by death*, and they believe, that, in the sight of God, it would be so viewed. To forbid second marriages, in such cases, would be to expose the parties, not only to stronger hardships and strong temptations, but to *church censure*, for acting in obedience to their masters, who cannot be expected to acquiesce in a regulation at variance with justice to the slaves, and to the spirit of that command which regulates marriage among Christians. The slaves are not free agents, and a dissolution by death is not more entirely without their consent, and beyond their controul, than by such separation.'

† Mr. Birney related, when in England, in 1840, the following instance of this heartless practice, which occurred under his immediate notice : "A widow woman owned a widow woman ; and both were members of the Presbyterian church to which I myself belonged. The negro woman had two children,—one seven and the other nine years old,—both trained to worship with their mother and her owner. Altogether unexpectedly to the negro woman, when she was returning from some errand on which she had been sent, she was met at the door by a slave-trader, who told her that he had purchased her *apart from her two children* ! The wretched woman was struck with amazement at the horrible intelligence ; and, in her agony, she rushed to her mistress, who not only told her that it was true, but remained inflexible in her stern resolve ! The poor slave's despair for her children maddened her, and her piercing cries alarmed even a slave-owning neighbourhood. All, however, proved unavailing. The dealer, whose property she had become, took her away, and I doubt if she has ever seen her children since !'"

standing! They call slavery a *political blessing*, denounce abolitionists as ‘weak enthusiasts’ and ‘fell incendiaries,’ and strive to exclude their publications from the south. They have threatened their persons, impugned their motives, and denounced their piety. They have successively despised them for the smallness of their numbers, and hated them for their growing strength and gathering hosts. In no cause, it is believed, have the southern clergy ever evinced so much industry and earnestness as in contending against the doctrines, that *slavery is sin*, and *immediate emancipation a duty*. If these two propositions had embodied the sum and substance of all damnable heresies, they could not have excited greater opposition !”

Writing of the professing Christians of the *Northern States*, the same authority tells us,

“ Many of them not only approve the enormity, but some, ‘*men of great titles in the churches*, have given their *sanctions* to deeds of violence against abolitionists,’ and actually ‘been *active* instigators of many of the *pro-slavery mobs* that have disgraced the *free states* for the last seven years. ‘Good enough for the fanatics!’ ‘Just what the rascals deserve!’ ‘The only way to deal with the incendiaries!’ and such like endorsements of mob-violence, have fallen from the lips of many a *minister, deacon, elder, and class-leader*, in the *FREE states*! Large numbers of them are owners of slaves in the south. And not only do the rabble shout the praises of prejudice against colour, but ministers are its votaries, and temples dedicated to God its sanctuaries and shrines! It partitions off the house of God,* and makes the communion-cup a respecter of persons! Religion hangs her head, and goes heart-broken from her temples, at sights like these !”

The book also contains an “enumeration of the various modes of torture known to be practised in the planting states, which must convince the most credulous, that our picture of slave-holding cruelty has not been overdrawn.” From this harrowing portion of the volume, I take the following passages :

“ In contemplating the account, it is difficult to resist the conviction, that a more profound and malicious cunning than belongs to *mere man* has been employed in contriving such a diversity of hellish torments to plague mankind; at the same time, we must confess that their *invention* displays no more of the fiend than their *application*.

* “ In all the Protestant Churches in New York,” says Mr. Birney, “there is a *negro pew*, to which all coloured persons are confined, and no one who has a drop of negro blood in his veins dare to take *his seat in any other part of the church!*”

tion, which is daily made by beings wearing the form of men ! The slaves are suspended by the wrists, with their toes just touching the ground ; their ankles having been tied, a heavy log or fence-rail is thrust between their legs. In this situation, naked, they are flogged with a cow hide* till their blood and bits of mangled flesh stream from their shoulders to the ground. Again, they are stretched at full length upon the earth, their faces downwards, each of their wrists and ankles is lashed to a stake driven firmly into the ground. Thus stretched, so that they cannot shrink in the least from the descending blows, they receive sometimes hundreds of lashes on their naked backs. So protracted is the flogging frequently, that the overseer stops in the midst of it to take breath, and rest his tired muscles, only to resume it with increased violence. In such cases, the back of the slave presents to the beholder one mass of clotted blood and mangled flesh ! Sometimes, instead of lashing the ankles and wrists to stakes, the overseer orders four strong slaves to hold the victim. The persons selected to do this are sometimes, through a refinement of cruelty, the *relatives of the sufferer* ! Again, the slaves are stripped and bound upon a log ; and, in this position, they are tortured with heavy paddles bored full of holes, each of which raises a blister at every stroke ; or *infuriated cats are repeatedly dragged backwards from their shoulders to their hips* ! After either of the foregoing modes of lacerating the flesh, spirits of turpentine, or a solution of salt, or cayenne pepper, or pulverized mustard, is rubbed into the bleeding wounds to aggravate and prolong the torment !

" Sometimes, the slaves are buried to their chins in holes, dug in the damp ground, just large enough for them to stand erect, with their arms close by their sides. They are also fastened in the stocks for several successive nights, being released during the day for work, or confined both night and day. Instead of stocks, the feet are sometimes thrust between the rails of the fence.

" The slaves are beaten with heavy clubs over the head, arms, shoulders, or legs. Walking-canes are broken over their heads, sometimes fracturing the skull, or causing permanent insanity, or even death. In moments of passion, the planter or overseer seizes any instrument within reach,—often prostrating the slave at a blow ; and then stamps upon him till his fury is spent ! During these paroxysms of rage, the slaves frequently suffer the most frightful mutilations and fractures. Their limbs are broken, joints dislocated, faces bruised, eyes and teeth knocked out, lips mangled, cheeks gashed, ears cropped, slit, or shaved close to the head, fingers and toes cut off ; red-hot branding-irons, with the initials of their masters,

* This is a strip of a raw hide, cut the whole length of the ox, and twisted while in that state until it tapers off to a point ; when it has become dry and hard, it has somewhat the appearance of a drayman's whip, but the sharp edges, projecting at every turn, cut into the flesh at every stroke ! It is, indeed, a dreadful instrument of punishment !

are stamped into the cheeks, the fleshy parts of the thighs, and legs and shoulders. They are maimed by gun and pistol shots, and lacerated with knives!"—P. 129-30.

The reader has here a clear and distinct view of the structure and machinery of that odious and detestable system of tyranny and persecuting prejudice, by which an immense majority of the religious professors of America seek to maintain their unrighteous power over the slaves and their nominally-free brethren. Never in the annals of the world, (bad as are the precedents for injustice and barbarity!) did men, assuming the character of sanctity, appear more completely degraded, or more deeply sunk in the estimation of every honest and unprejudiced mind! The purposes they have unfolded, the means they have employed, and the miserable expedients to which they have had recourse, in the prosecution of their unchristian measures, are of so revolting a description as cannot fail to kindle up the most indignant feelings in the bosom of every one, where respect for honesty, homage to religion, and the love of virtue, have not been entirely obliterated. All the startling statements which I have quoted against the American members of churches are supported, in the volume from which they are taken, by such overwhelming evidence, that doubt or suspicion of their verity seem entirely out of the question. A portion of this evidence would have here found place but for the desire of keeping this tract within its prescribed limits; and the little cost at which the book containing the statements may be procured, renders the omission scarcely to be regretted.

A more recent authority states, that "Protestant churches are endowed with property in slaves, and pay the stipends of their clergy out of the proceeds. And we have before us a table, published in 1851, by an American society, which professes to show that, in the Union, there are upwards of 16,000 Protestant clergy, who, with their enrolled church members, numbering $1\frac{1}{3}$ millions, are concerned in the holding of not less than 660,000,—more than one-fifth of the whole slave population. We suppose it is upon some calculation like this that Mr. Hildreth finds his statement, that "at least half of those who call themselves ministers of the gospel, sedulously inculcate that

the negroes are in nature mere animals, intended to be used as horses, to be kept for ever under the yoke, and not capable of being anything but slaves." And granting this to be, what we hope and believe that it is, a gross exaggeration, still, how far removed from the pure benevolence of the gospel must their preaching be, when an author can venture to publish, and a wide American public can read and approve of, such statements as these. A celebrated North American divine is said to characterize slavery as one of what he calls the *organic sins* of the community, for which "nobody is individually responsible."*

The true lover of Christianity cannot but mourn over the evils thus inflicted in her sacred name, and the injury that must thence arise to the progress of genuine piety and truth :

" He weeps to see abused Religion twine
Round Tyranny's coarse brow her wreath divine."

He revolts at the *merciless* conduct of men professing a religion *pre-eminently merciful*,—a religion which teaches her children to imbibe and promulgate the dictates of celestial benevolence, and to "love their neighbours as themselves." He is grieved and humiliated to the dust, to hear of men "putting on the form of godliness," without exhibiting a particle of its spirit,—of men professing to love morality, while they allow its duties to evaporate into a mere rhapsody of words,—of men desecrating the banner of the Cross, by holding it up as drapery to hide the abominations of a most heinous trade of temporal aggrandizement, and, while the shrieks of the suffering negro are ringing in their ears, drinking of the cup in remembrance of HIM who came to comfort the afflicted, to bind up the broken-hearted, and to give liberty to the captive! Contemplating such a desecration of all that is holy, pure, and just,—a desecration to which so many of the American churches give their ready, cheerful, and zealous assent,—he is ready to exclaim with the poet,

" Rather plunge me back in Pagan night,
And take my chance with Socrates for bliss,
Than be the Christian of a faith like this!"

* B'ackwood's Magazine, January, 1853.

'Dupont's best,' (gunpowder) and cold steel.' The Sun, one of the New York city journals, tells us, *'the Rev. Dr. spoke with sympathy of the sentiments of the south, as evinced in the speech of Mr. Wise!'*

"In a letter to the editor of the *'Emancipator,'* the Rev. S. Witherspoon says, *'When the tardy process of the law is too long in redressing our grievances, we of the south have adopted the summary remedy of Judge Lynch: and really I think it one of the most wholesome and salutary remedies for the malady of northern fanaticism that can be applied; and no doubt my friend, the editor of *'The Emancipator,'* would feel the better for its enforcement, provided he had a southern administrator! I go to the Bible for my warrant in all moral matters!* Let your emissaries dare venture to cross the Potomac, and I cannot promise you that their fate will be less than Haman's. Then beware how you goad an insulted, but *magnanimous*, people to deeds of desperation.

The Rev. R. N. Anderson, addressing the Presbyterian congregations of West Hanover, bids them *'quit themselves like men. If there be any stray goat of a minister among you, tainted with the blood-hound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, SILENCED, excommunicated, and left to the PUBLIC, TO DISPOSE OF HIM IN OTHER RESPECTS!'*

That these open invitations to violence and outrage should have been eagerly accepted by those who have liberty on their lips, and despotism in their hearts, can surprise no one acquainted with human nature. They, doubtless, induced many to believe that, while destroying the property and injuring the persons of abolitionists, they not only gave an impetus to "the tardy process of the law," but did God good service! What other effect could the impious and unequivocal sentiments of these professed friends of religion have on the ignorant and fanatic defenders of slavery? Is it not a most painful reflection, that the authors and stimulators,—the principal criminals, in fact,—in these works of mischief, are suffered, not only to escape with impunity, but even to receive thanks and congratulations where moral justice would decree the severest reprobation and most exemplary punishment?

Other agencies have also been put into operation against those ministerial friends of abolition who have evinced a determination to "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ made them free." The counselling of

Lynch-law was found to be too revolting to the taste of some of the American churches ; and, therefore, a somewhat less shameful mode of persecution was hit upon. In an "Appeal to the Citizens of the United States," in 1834, the Rev. S. Clough, D.D., undertook, amongst other unchristian attempts to incite animosity and ill-will, to prove that "all clergymen who advocate immediate abolition are *false teachers*, and ought to be *dismissed* by their congregations." This *pastoral* advice has been acted upon in many instances since its promulgation ; but one example of its mischievous tendency will suffice. I have it from a *private* source, and am only prevented from giving names by fear of causing new troubles to the party concerned. A minister of an *Independent* church in America, writing to a relative in England, thus expresses himself :

" You have heard and read, no doubt, much about American slavery. This is a reproach and curse to this land, beyond what you can conceive. The state of society is horrible, in consequence of it. The people of the Northern Christian Churches,—ministers, professors of colleges, and others,—are all dealers in slaves ! *There is far more real liberty with you than with us !* I will now state a fact concerning myself : Last summer, I said some plain and pointed things in a sermon against slavery ; and *it made several of the people as mad as vipers against me !* Twice after this, when public meetings were called to know if the Society would engage me for a longer time, the pro-slavery party did their utmost to outvote me, and drive me away, but failed. *Several of them have since withdrawn from our meeting-house, and, of course, their support.* This is a specimen of American prejudice, and *SHews what a FAITHFUL MINISTER MUST EXPECT, IF HE SAYS EVER SO LITTLE AGAINST THE HORRIBLE SIN OF SLAVERY ! Professing Christians will rise up against a minister for this as soon as the openly irreligious."*

It is highly gratifying to be able to state, on the respectable authority of the author of the pamphlet, "The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery," that there are abolitionists in all the churches, who are "earnestly labouring to purify them from the defilements of slavery ; and that they have strong encouragement to proceed, not only in view of what they have already effected towards that end, but in the steady increase of their numbers, and in other omens of success." Most certainly, if there be any force in truth,—if there

be any tendency in righteous and merciful principles to find their way into the human heart,—then may those who believe in the eternal equity of God take courage, and safely entertain the lively hope, that His justice will yet manifest itself in rescuing the deeply injured African people from the toils of their oppressors!

CHAP. II.

EXAMINATION OF THE SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENTS BROUGHT FORWARD IN DEFENCE OF SLAVERY.

Trade, wealth, and fashion, bid the slave to bleed,
And holy men give scripture for the deed!—CAMPBELL.

IN seeking the aid of Revelation to bolster up their sublimated wickedness, the American professors of Christianity have exhibited a degree of temerity perfectly unique! The obvious duty of those who have given in their adhesion to Christianity, especially of its ministers, is, to rescue it from all reproach, to discountenance wrong in every shape, and to lead their weaker brethren into the way of righteousness. In America, however, the Christian's code of right and wrong would seem to be completely reversed. In that vaunted "land of bibles and missions," ministerial zeal sometimes takes the most repulsive direction, administering to the worst of vices, pandering to the most contemptible of prejudices, misleading "him that is weak in the faith," and systematically "changing the truth of God into a lie!"

A few brief extracts from their published addresses will show to what lengths they have gone on this head.

"The Rev. E. D. Simms, professor in a Methodist college, says, 'Whether we consult the Jewish polity, instituted by God himself, or the injunctions of the New Testament, we are brought to the conclusion, that *slavery is not immoral*.' The Charleston Baptist Association does not consider that the *holy Scriptures have made the fact of slavery a question of morals at all*. The question, it is believed, is purely one of political economy. It amounts, in effect, to this: *Whether the operatives of a country shall be bought and sold, and THEMSELVES BECOME PROPERTY, as in this state; or whether they shall be HIRELINGS, and their LABOUR ONLY BECOME PROPERTY, as in some other states.*" "The Rev. Dr. Furman maintained that the right of holding slaves is clearly established in the holy scriptures, *both by precept and example.*" The Harmony Presbytery of South Carolina resolved, 'That slavery existed in the time of the apostle

Paul, who sent a runaway home to his master Philemon; and that the relative duties of master and slave are taught in the scriptures." "The Rev. S. Witherspoon pretends that the principle of holding the heathen in bondage is recognized by God."—*The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery*, p. 13, 22, 24, 30, 34.

"Gen. C. Pinkney, in a public address, maintained that slavery is not inconsistent with the genius and spirit of Christianity, nor considered by St. Paul as a moral evil! The general was regarded as one of the most distinguished and pious members of the slaveholding community!"—See Judge Jay's *Slavery in America*, p. 76-7.

"An American newspaper was put into my hands, dated October 2nd, 1840, containing a letter, signed R. The writer, speaking of ministers of the gospel in the south, quotes from them a declaration resolved upon, at what they call the *Convention*, in the following words: 'We believe slave-holding to be perfectly compatible with genuine piety, and are sure that the apostles would have received us to their fellowship!'—Clarkson's "Letter to the Slave-holding Planters of America," p. 23.

"I watched closely the preaching in the south,—that of all denominations,—to see what could be made of Christianity, 'the highest fact in the rights of man,' in such a region. The clergy were pretending to find express sanctions of slavery in the Bible, and putting words to this purpose into the mouths of public men who do not profess to remember the existence of the Bible in any other connexion! The clergy were boasting at public meetings, that there was not a periodical south of the Potomac which did not advocate slavery! and some were even setting up a magazine, whose fundamental principle is, that *man ought to be the property of man!*" The clergy, who were to be sent as delegates to the general assembly, were receiving instructions to leave the room, if the subject of slavery was mentioned, and to propose the cessation of the practice of praying for slaves!"—Miss Martineau's "Society in America."

Not only is slavery in the abstract regarded with a high degree of approbation, and its general enormities sought to be extenuated from passages of the Bible; but even that most cruel and iniquitous form of it, which now flourishes in all the rank luxuriance of licentiousness, brutality, and murder, in the southern states, has not wanted defenders, who have "out-Heroded Herod" in the boldness of their assertions regarding it. One extract on this head must suffice:

"The Rev. J. H. Thornwell and the Rev. Mr. Carlisle, at Lancasterville, addressed a meeting in support of the resolution, 'That slavery, as it exists in the south, is no evil, and is consistent with the PRINCIPLES OF REVEALED RELIGION!'—*Slavery and the Internal Slave-Trade of the United States of North America*.

Is not this calling “evil, good, and good, evil?” For surely the slavery of the south is not only evil, but “evil continually,” to be “seen and read of all men!” “Charity,” we are taught, “hopeth all things, believeth all things;” yet is it not hard to believe, that these reverend champions of slavery are what the apostle would have called “ensamples to the flock?”—difficult to hope, that they come not under the condemnation of those to whom Paul alludes, when he says, “The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against *all* ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who hold the truth in unrighteousness?” How can they be said to “put away evil from amongst them?”—to “Put on the bowels of mercies?”—to “Let no man defraud his brother in *any* matter?”—to “Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them?”—to “Rejoice not in iniquity, but rejoice in the truth?”—to “Let no corrupt communication proceed out of their mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers?” Have they not “grieved the holy spirit of God” by their utter disregard of these apostolic injunctions? Instead of “maintaining good works,” have they not sought “their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ’s,” and, like the Jewish rulers of old, “all looked to their own way; every one for his gain from his quarter?” The plausibility of their dispositions, the flexibility of their consciences, the artificial nature of their piety, as evidenced in their shameless defences of slavery, prove how low poor human nature will descend for selfish purposes! These, their besetting sins, give them a prominent place amongst the “false teachers, by reason of whom,” the apostle Peter says, “the way of truth shall be evil spoken of.” And, to place their identity beyond dispute, the very next verse adds, “And through covetousness, shall they, *with feigned words, make MERCHANTISE OF you.*” (Second Epistle of Peter, Ch. II.) Men of information, and with the full blaze of Bible light before them, they are “offenders against light and knowledge,” which are the very worst of offenders; for the words which our Saviour uttered, concerning the Jews, are equally applicable to them: “If I had not come and

spoken to them, they had not had sin, but *now they have no cloak for their sins.*" (John xv., 22.) They cannot excuse their extensive guilt in perpetuating slavery as "*no evil,*" and as "*not inconsistent with revealed religion,*" on the poor plea of being ignorant of the heart-rending cruelties, the crying injuries, to which that horrid traffic in human cattle gives rise; and, men of professed holiness, they must not be suffered to take shelter behind the sometimes-convenient ridge of *conscientious error.* In short, not even sincerity itself can excuse the practice of error, in face of the plain commands of the Deity, the all-absorbing benevolence of Christ's example, and in obvious violation of equity and truth. Slavery, in whatever form, is a practical affront to all that is "*lovely and of good report.*" It is arming human turpitude and Satanic ferocity against Religion, in a disgraceful attempt to bring it down to their own base level, which is a gross insult to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, and an impious and awful outrage of the Saviour's cause! The soul of the venerable Clarkson was excited to indignation at the assertion of some of the American clergy, that they *could not see any sin in slavery!* and he thus gives vent to his surprise and grief at their wilful blindness and daring obstinacy:

"It seems to me, as if your acquaintance with slavery had totally blinded your eyes, and left you without the power of seeing, and judging for yourselves. Why,—*slavery is full of sin!* You can view it in no aspect where its *sinfulness does not appear!* It is sin in its *source;* it is sin in its *effects.* It may lead, and it does lead, (and you yourselves know it, and none better, by experience) that it leads to **RAPE, ADULTERY, FALSE WITNESS AGAINST YOUR NEIGHBOUR**, and, *very frequently*, to **MURDER.** Add to these crimes *theft*, (though rape is included in theft) and it leads to the violation of no less than four out of the ten commandments of the moral law! It is *sin in its root, sin in its branches, and sin in its fruit;* and yet, living where all these evil practices are going on, you can see no evil or sin in slavery! May God, of his mercy, provided the day of your visitation be not over, grant you to see slavery *in its true light*, '*before your houses are left unto you desolate!*' " (Matt. xxiii., 38.)—*Letter to the Clergy in the Southern Parts of America*, p. 22.

Nor can the snaky design of reconciling such a system of *depravity to the practice of godliness*, and the eternal

rules of equity, long deceive the more unlettered of the American population; because plain common sense must show them how wrong it is, that one portion of mankind should have *rights by laws* the most obviously inconsistent with the *rights of others by nature*; or, in other words, that the slave-owner possesses property in his fellow-men by virtue of legal enactments. Such possession is odiously unjust, because property in man is derived by a criminal violation of the dearest natural rights of others, who are guiltless of any act by which those rights could equitably be forfeited. Men who contend for the continuance of enactments, resting upon so foul a basis as "*no evil*," and "*not inconsistent with revealed religion*," can have read their Bible to little purpose. They plainly contend that Right ought to submit to Might, or be punished for not submitting to it,—a doctrine at direct variance with every principle of natural right and natural reason. It is precisely the same as proclaiming the audacious blasphemy, that the *laws of heaven* (for such are the rights of personal liberty and equal justice) *ought to be made subservient to the laws of earth!* But it is laid down, in the simplest terms, that this doctrine is opposed to Christian duty: "*WE OUGHT TO OBEY GOD RATHER THAN MEN.*" (Acts v., 29.) "*Not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.*" (Rom. ii., 13.)

On this, as well as on other grounds, the faithful follower of Christ may take his stand, and vindicate his religion from the wicked charge of sanctioning slavery, which, so far from being "*no evil*," is, "*measuring its magnitude by its crimes and sufferings*," as Clarkson observes, "*the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted the human race.*" They who have attempted to lower the moral dignity of the Christian religion, by dragging in passages of the Bible to prove their claim to make merchandise of their fellow-men, and sport with their best and worthiest feelings, can never justify their proceedings by the ordinary rules of reasoning. Whatever may be urged with this design, it is very certain that the religion of Jesus Christ is not responsible for it.

If it be argued, that slavery had the divine sanction

under the *Mosaic* economy, and that, *therefore*, men are justified in maintaining it under the *Christian* dispensation, I at once dissent from the conclusion. Nothing less than sheer ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation of the real merits of the case, would lead any one to draw such an inference. The government under which the Jews lived in the time of Moses was *theocratical*. It was regulated by the direct commands of Jehovah himself. Consequently, it forms an exception to every other kind of rule that has existed in the world. Laws and regulations adapted for a theocracy may not be altogether suited to constitutions purely human. The right of God to do this or that is unquestionable, though the propriety or the utility of the act itself may appear inexplicable to finite minds. "Canst thou, by searching, find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?" (Job xi., 7.) "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." (Is. lv., 8, 9.) Omnipotent Reason, then, is not always apparent to man's limited and feeble faculties; but whatever commands itself to God's Infinite Wisdom will be considered, by the devout mind, as every way proper and justifiable. For "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" (Gen. xviii., 25.)

But if slavery must be advocated on the sanction of the *Old* Testament, there will, of course, be a perfect harmony on the subject,—that is, the injunctions to the same effect will correspond. This, however, is very far from being the case; for surely, if one condemnation of the cardinal robbery and horrible wrong of slavery, as it now exists in the American States, can be found in the Bible plainer than another, it is this: "He that *stealeth a man*, and *SELLETH HIM*, or if he be *FOUND IN HIS HAND*, *he shall surely be put to death.*" (Exod. xxi., 16.) Here we have the fact, that, not only the actual *stealers* of their fellow men, but also the *purchasers* of their human merchandise,—any, indeed, in whose hands a stolen man might be found,—were, according to the Mosaic law, to suffer a *felon's death*. On this, it is absolute and unqualified.

That all who encourage theft, whether tacitly or avowedly, are equally guilty with the thief, in the judgment of God, is evident from the fiftieth psalm : " When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him." The cruel injustice of forced servitude, of labour without wages, is also an abomination in the sight of a benevolent and holy God ; for, by the mouth of the prophet hath He declared, " Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong ; that *useth his neighbour's service without wages*, and giveth him not for his work." " Thus saith the Lord, Execute ye judgment and righteousness, and *deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor.*" (Jer. xxii., 3, 13.) " Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him ; the wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night till the morning." (Lev. xix., 13.) " Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, *whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers* that are in thy land within thy gates. At his day, thou shalt *give him his hire*, lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be sin unto thee." (Deut. xxiv., 14, 15.) Isaiah was sent " to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim *liberty to the captives*, and to comfort all that mourn." (Isaiah lxi., 1, 2.) A further proof that the Bible condemns the odious characteristics of American slavery is given in Ezekiel, xxii., 29, 26, 27 : " The people of the land have *used oppression*, and *exercised robbery*, and have vexed the poor and needy ; yea, they have *oppressed the stranger wrongfully*. *The priests have violated my law, and have profaned mine holy things*. They are like wolves ravening the prey, to *shed blood* and to *destroy souls to get dishonest gain.*" And in the last verse of the chapter, we have a description of the punishment of such offenders : " I have poured out mine indignation upon them. I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath. Their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord God." Of such a state of things, it is further said, " Judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off ; for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter. And the Lord saw it, and it displeased Him that there was no judgment."

But the pro-slavery divines of the United States find

it convenient to overlook these passages of Holy Writ, and direct their slave-holding church-members to a text which they imagine goes at once to sanction their traffic. In the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, v. 44-6, they pretend that their whole system of bondage is fully countenanced, and, therefore, their consciences need be under no apprehension of the punishment which the Righteous Judge has vowed to inflict upon all who disobey His laws. But whatever disagreement may, at first sight, appear between these verses and the texts previously cited, it is capable of being satisfactorily explained on examining their relative meanings. The same thing can never be both inexcusable and allowable. Such a palpable contradiction would make the Almighty inconsistent with Himself, by giving His holy approbation to a practice, to which, at the same time, He affixed the brand of infamy, and the punishment of death! With relation to the Israelites, the law is positive : "If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandize of him, or selleth him, then that thief shall die ; and thou shalt put away *evil* from among you." (Deut. xxiv., 7.) Thus it is manifest that slavery was looked upon as *evil*, and punished with the utmost rigour, by the Righteous Judge himself, among His own "peculiar and chosen people." There were cases, however, in which the Israelites were permitted to dispose of their services for a term of six years, and when pressed by extreme poverty, they were in the habit of doing so. No *third* party was connected with the bargain. The persons so bought were not forced into an unwilling service, without reward ; but it is always to be understood of those said to be "bought," that they *sold themselves*, and always of their own accord, precisely the same as any free individual of our country may be said to sell himself, when he may find it to his advantage to bind himself to serve a master for a term of years, as is often done by an apprenticeship deed. In such cases, they were called *hired servants* ; but were not to be treated with rigour. (Lev. xxv., 39 to 43.) If they did not avail themselves of the Sabbatical year of release, *it was so ordered* that both they and their children were *inevitably emancipated* on the return of their jubilee,

which was celebrated every fiftieth year ; for it was the positive command of God, "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." (Lev. xxv.) Nor was their freedom the only gift they received. They were to be "furnished liberally out of their masters' flocks, and out of their floor, and out of their wine-presses ; of that wherewith the Lord had blessed the masters, they were to give unto the slaves." (Deut. xv., 14.) The reverse of all this was pursued towards those denominated *heathens*, or *strangers* : " Both thy bond-men and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the *heathen* that are round about you ; of *them* shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids." (Lev. xxv., 44.) Rightly viewed, this is no justification of slavery, especially of that odious form of it which America now exhibits ; because it was, on the part of Infinite Wisdom, an act of retributive justice. By the heathen, Israel had thrice been led captive,—by the Assyrians, in the year 721, before Christ ; the Babylonians, in 607 ; and by the Egyptians, in 320. By these, the Jews had been enslaved ; they had long groaned, especially under the rigour of Egyptian bondage. These their task-masters had exercised no mercy towards them ; and now God, in retributive judgment, made the heathen feel the bitterness of that state in which they formerly held His own people : " Behold, I will return your recompense upon your own head. And I will sell your sons and your daughters into the hand of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people far off ; for the Lord hath spoken it." (Joel III., 7 and 8.) Further confirmation of this is given by Isaiah, (Ch. XIV.) " And the house of Israel shall possess them (the *strangers*) in the land of the Lord for servants and hand-maids ; and they shall take them captives whose captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors."

Here, then, the whole difficulty vanishes. All is perfectly plain and clear as the noonday sun. But where is the similitude between this retributive slavery, so expressly ordered by God, and that of the African oppression by the Americans ? The pre-eminent villany and cruelty of this *modern* slavery can derive no authority from the examples

I have briefly given from the Bible. To contend for the contrary is like contending, that a man ought first to become a *Jew* before he embraces *Christianity*; it is like contending, that, *because* there was a high-priest UNDER THE LAW, therefore there should be, UNDER THE GOSPEL, a similar officer over "gifts and sacrifices unto the Lord." But, "seeing that we have a great high-priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast *our* profession." (Heb. iv., 14.)

Now, though it is not easy to conceive that we of the new era are bound to go to that which has become *old*, and vanished away, for arguments of Christian practice, still it is an opinion deliberately formed in my mind, that the *morality* of the question is the same under *both* dispensations,—that slavery, which is "man-stealing," is at utter variance with both Testaments,—"opposite to wholesome doctrine, and that which the law should take cognizance of to punish." "Whosoever committeth sin transgresseth also the law, for sin is the transgression of the law." (1 John iii., 4.) That this matter is differently understood by different individuals is an additional evidence of the great diversity of the human mind. Had not this diversity been too apparent to be overlooked, the unscriptural nature of slavery might have been deemed, by all sober and reflecting men, as too clear to admit of doubt. With them, there can be no question that the whole Bible revolts at the sanction sought to be obtained from its pure and simple truths for the ensanguined horrors of the American slave-trade.

As far as the New Testament is concerned, one broad and comprehensive rule of its benevolent author bespeaks the sound morality and sterling equity of the whole volume: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." The great governing principle of our holy religion is here made so plain, that "a wayfaring-man, though a fool, cannot err therein." And, until it can be satisfactorily shown, that slave-holders are ready and willing to change places with the victims of their tyranny,—to quit their comfortable homes for the field of toil, where they may be manacled and lacerated at the caprice

of a brutal "soul-driver,"—the keenest ingenuity will never be able to prove the traffic in human flesh and blood to be of divine appointment. However reluctant a slave-master might be, under such an intelligible trial of the golden rule, to confess the honest convictions of his *experience*, the subtlest sophistry would not assist him to disguise the truth from himself. Whatever his *tongue* might utter,* to his *conscience* the ordeal would be omnipotent, irresistible! Jesus Christ came into the world, not to rivet the chains of the captive, but, by means peculiarly his own, to purchase and proclaim entire liberty to all. But then, say the apologists of the crime under

* Miss Martineau mentions a lady, who attempted to ease her conscience in thicker callousness against the warnings and overtures of truth on the subject of slavery, by pretending acquiescence in the mode of trial alluded to. "The sale of a man was just concluding, when we entered the slave-market of Charleston. A woman, with two children, one at the breast, and another holding by her apron, composed the next lot. The restless, jocose zeal of the auctioneer, who counted the bids, was the most infernal sight I ever beheld. The woman was a mulatto; she was neatly dressed, with a clean apron, and a yellow head-handkerchief. The elder child clung to her. She hung her head low, lower, and still lower on her breast, yet turning her eyes incessantly from side to side, with an intensity of expectation, which showed that she had not reached the last stage of despair. I should have thought that her agony of shame and dread would have silenced the tongue of every spectator; but it was not so. A lady chose this moment to turn to me and say, with a *cheerful air of complacency*, 'You know my theory,—that the one race must be subservient to the other. I DO NOT CARE WHICH! And if the blacks should ever have the upper hand, I should not mind standing on that *table and being SOLD WITH TWO OF MY CHILDREN!*' Who could not help saying within himself, 'Would you were! so that *that* mother were released!' Who could help seeing, in vision, the blacks driving the whites into the fields, and preaching from the pulpits of Christian churches the doctrines now given out there, that God *has* respect of persons, that men *are* to hold each other as property, instead of regarding each other as brethren; and that the *right* interpretation of the golden rule by the slave-holder is, 'Do unto your slaves as you would wish your master to do unto you, if you were a slave?' * * * If there be a scene which might stagger the faith of the spirit of Christianity itself,—if there be an experience which might overthrow its serenity,—it is the transition from the slave-market to the abodes of the slave-masters, bright with sunshine, and gay with flowers, with courtesies and mirth!"—*Retrospect of Western Travel*, Vol. II., p. 84-6.

notice, slavery is not *expressly* forbidden, either by Christ or his apostles ; it is " no where condemned in God's holy word," " nor considered by St. Paul as a *moral evil*." Similar objections, at one time, were urged in our own country, by men, too, from whom were expected practical illustrations of Christ's precepts,—the exhibition of an ardent and generous enthusiasm in the cause of humanity and justice. But their doctrine was humility, their practice, pride ; they exhorted to benevolence, and indulged in covetousness. Theirs was the cant of religion, put on to serve worldly ends ; pious where it was perspicuous, and charitable where it was ostentation. No true-hearted Englishman desires to blink this disgraceful fact, however deeply he may deplore its occurrence, as one of those mischievous precedents which helps to make religion despised, and its ordinances forsaken. But the objections in question are destitute of truth. The New Testament does condemn slavery ; and there is direct evidence that, by Paul himself, it is classed amongst the *very worst of moral evils*, the foulest of crimes in the catalogue of human guilt. Amidst his labours, perils, and sufferings, in the cause of humanity, the apostle was not very likely to overlook turpitude of this sanguinary nature ; and accordingly, we find him denouncing it, under the term of *man-stealing*, in his usual eloquent and fearless style. Writing to Timothy, he observes, " The law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for man-slayers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for *men-stealers*, for liars, for perjured persons ; and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine." (1 Tim. 1, 9, 10.) Can any thing be required more explicit than this ? Is not the apostle Paul's condemnation intended to operate equally against the greatest of miscreants, the very worst of murderers, and the *kidnapper* ? Dr. Macknight, one of our most able critical writers on the epistles of the New Testament, has, on the term " *men-stealers*," the following remark : " They who make war for the inhuman purpose of selling the vanquished as slaves, as is the practice of the African princes, are

really men-stealers ; and they who, like the African traders, encourage that unchristian traffic, by purchasing the slaves which *they know* to be thus unjustly acquired, are *partakers in their crime.*" The learned Bishop Horsley, in one of the debates on slavery, said, in the House of Lords, "As St. Paul had coupled men-stealers with murderers, he had condemned the slave-trade in one of its most productive modes, and generally in all its modes. And here," continued his lordship, "it is worthy of remark, that the word used by the apostle on this occasion, and which has been translated *men-stealers*, should have been rendered *SLAVE-TRADERS*. This is obvious from the Scholiast of Aristophanes. * * * It is clear, therefore, that the slave-trade, if murder is forbidden, has been *literally* forbidden also." This is confirmed by Dr. Morison : "If there be a God, and if He has expressed His mind in His blessed word, *to buy and sell a man who was ORIGINALLY STOLEN*, and who is still retained and punished *without a crime*, is a violation of the first and most essential principles of eternal justice!" "The wrong in the *first seizure*," writes Dr. Channing, "lies in the destination of a human being to *future bondage*, to the criminal use of him as a chattel or a brute. Can that very use, which makes the original seizure an enormous wrong, become *gradually innocent*? Does the duration of wrong convert it into a right? The original proprietor, the true owner of a human being, is made manifest to all. It is *himself*. No brand on the slave was ever so conspicuous as the mark of property which God has set on him. God, in making him a rational and moral being, has put a glorious stamp on him, which all the slave-legislation and slave-markets of the world cannot efface." Dr. Adam Clarke, in his admirable "Commentary," renders "men-stealers" into "slave-dealers," and adds what is equally true as decisive of the point in question : "Whether those *who carry on the traffic in human flesh and blood*; or those who *steal* a person in order to sell him into bondage; or those who *buy* such stolen men or women, no matter of what *colour* or what *country*; or those who *sow dissensions* among barbarous tribes, in order that they who are taken in war may be sold into slavery; or the nations who *legalize*

or connive at such traffic : *all* these are men-stealers, and God classes them with the most flagitious of mortals."

Thus it will be seen, that slavery is "condemned in God's holy word," and "considered by the apostle Paul," not only a "*moral evil*," but included in a summary of the *very worst of evils*. There is no possibility of escape from this conclusion ; and he who persists in denying that *purchasers* of slaves come under the ban of men-stealers, cannot screen them from the sweeping clause with which the list of black offences is wound up : "And if there be *any other thing* that is *contrary to sound doctrine*." In this, "every species of vice and immorality," says Dr. Clarke, "*all* must be necessarily included that is contrary to *sound doctrine*,—to the immutable moral law of God, as well as to the pure precepts of Christianity, where that law is incorporated, explained, and rendered, if possible, more and more binding."

From what has been already advanced, it were natural to suppose that all men professing to receive the Bible as a heavenly guide, in things both spiritual and temporal, would no longer contend for slavery as "consistent with its principles." The ministers and other professing Christians of America, however, are not so easily turned from their beloved theory. They either entirely overlook, or attempt to explain away, the plain declaration to Timothy against men-stealers, and rush to Paul's letter to Philemon as the one thing needful to their support. Because the apostle, in sending back Onesimus to his master, did not expressly condemn the *institution* of slavery, they would persuade themselves, and deceive others into the belief, that he did not consider such an institution, in itself, as either sinful or unnatural. This objection may, at first sight, and received apart from all knowledge of the character of the apostle, and the situation in which he was placed, appear highly plausible ; but it would be a prostitution and a profanity of the lofty and righteous principles of Paul, to construe his *silence* on this head into *approbation* of the fierce passions, the merciless cupidity, and the reckless lust, to which that institution *invariably* gives rise. Who in his senses would draw such an inference ? It formed no part of the

apostle's mission to exterminate bad political institutions, by counselling *violence*, and marshalling *physical* force. He was to assist in supplying *motives* and *sanctions* to the duties of men ; and his power lay in his persuasive eloquence, his calm dignity, his invincible reasoning, his extensive benevolence, and his magnanimous spirit. These were the weapons of his warfare ; and they proved mightier than any two-edged sword in bringing conviction to the hearts of sinners, and in achieving conquests and triumphs over every species of vice and immorality. It was by these peaceful means, that the Apostle to the Gentiles quickened morals into action, and subdued the proud mind into a reverence for the obligations of the laws of God. To have acted otherwise, St. Paul knew would have been to employ the name of his religion against its spirit,—against that spirit, the distinguishing characteristics of which are purity and gentleness, and whose purposes are as sublime, as, in their progress and results, they are irresistible and glorious.

The reader who takes this candid view of the matter will find no difficulty in fully comprehending the beautiful epistle of Paul to Philemon. Perhaps in no other of his excellent compositions has Paul given a finer exhibition of the true nobility of his nature, crowned as it was with every Christian ornament, than in his brief exhortation to Philemon regarding Onesimus. It is eminently distinguished by respect and expostulation, by affability and authority, by gentleness and decision, so happily blended into one harmonious whole, as to ensure its object in a far more satisfactory manner than any imperative command, or dogmatical order, would have done. “Wherefore, though *I might be much bold in Christ to ENJOIN thee* that which is convenient ; yet, for LOVE'S SAKE, I RATHER BESEECH THEE.* I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have sent again : thou, therefore, receive him that is mine own bowels, whom I would have

* Dr. Adam Clarke says, “It would be better to read, ‘Wherefore, although I have much authority, through Christ, to command thee to do what is proper ; yet, on account of my love to thee, I entreat thee.’”

retained with me, that, in thy stead, he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the gospel; *but, without thy mind,* would I do nothing, that thy benefit should not be, as it were, of necessity, but willingly.*" The apostle here shows that Philemon, though his disciple, was not required to follow his suggestions in a blind, unquestioning spirit; but that the request made would only be acceptable, if granted *willingly*, and from *Christian duty and affection*. This was the way to elevate Philemon above worldly servility, to instil into his mind that "God loves a cheerful giver," and requires his creatures to do good from *principle*, and not out of conformity with mean expediency or mere necessity. Having thus prepared his affections, the apostle bids him receive his truant slave, not *now* as a servant, but above a *servant, a brother beloved*,—that is, "Do not receive him merely as a slave, nor treat him according to that condition." If any doubt remained, after this plain direction, that Paul desired Philemon to grant Onesimus *all the rights of a free man*, and return him to Paul as a *voluntary servant*, such doubt must surely be removed by the twenty-first verse: "Having *confidence in thy obedience*, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt DO MORE than I say." On this passage, Matthew Henry remarks, "The apostle knew Philemon to be a good man, and was thence persuaded of his *readiness to do good*, and that not in a scanty and niggardly manner, but with a *free and liberal hand*." And, in his introductory comments on the epistle, he is of opinion, that "there is no reason to doubt but Paul prevailed with Philemon to *forgive and receive Onesimus*." The Rev. T. Scott, in his valuable "Com-

* "This shows great modesty and humility in the apostle, that, though, as such, he had an authority, which he could have used, as well as had understanding and judgment how to have used it, *without consulting Philemon, or having his sense of this affair*, yet chose to consult him. * * * 'That thy benefit,' &c.,—that is, that his goodness in forgiving his servant, and *RENOVATING ALL CLAIM AND PROPERTY IN HIM*, and admitting him to continue in the service of the apostle, might not look like a *forced* thing, but that it might appear to be a *voluntary* action, when he should of himself return him, after he had been thus sent to him, and received by him."—*Exposition of the New Testament, by Dr. John Gill.*

mentary," goes farther: "The apostle entertained no doubt of Philemon's compliance with his request, and expected that he would do more than he said. It is therefore, probable that Onesimus was *not only received into favour*, but *SET AT LIBERTY*. And it is generally thought, that he became afterwards a minister of the Gospel." Matthew Henry also thinks, that Onesimus, after his forgiveness by his master, was ordained to the ministry by St. Paul. "Whether Philemon pardoned Onesimus, or punished him, is not known," says Dr. Macknight; "but from the earnestness with which the apostle solicited his pardon, and from the generosity and goodness of Philemon's disposition, we may conjecture that he actually pardoned Onesimus, and **EVEN GAVE HIM HIS FREEDOM**, *in compliance with the apostle's insinuation*, that 'he would do more than he had asked.' For it was no uncommon thing, in ancient times, to bestow freedom on such slaves as had obtained the esteem and good-will of their masters by their faithful services." The Rev. J. Benson "cannot doubt that Philemon gave Onesimus his freedom. This certainly must have been the case, if this Onesimus was the person of the same name mentioned by Ignatius, in his epistle to the Ephesians, as one of their bishops, as Grotius thinks he was."

But, whatever the effect of the apostle's letter, it is very certain that he could not do more than he did to obtain the manumission of Onesimus, consistently with the mild authority of an apostle of Jesus Christ,—an authority which it was alone suitable for St. Paul to exercise, or commendable in Philemon to obey. This authority did not extend to the granting of freedom to Onesimus, without first obtaining his master's consent; but it is evident, from the tenor of the whole epistle, that the apostle looked upon slavery as altogether incompatible with Christianity. The exercise of *absolute power over a "brother beloved"* could never be reconciled with the character given of Philemon: "Hearing of thy love and faith which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints." (Ver. 5.) Slavery, with "every other thing contrary to sound doctrine," would never be allowed, by Paul, to find an asylum and a home amongst Christians, without remon-

strance and without reproof. The apostle, in no instance, was found to compromise his duty, but ever prayed that “utterance might be given unto him, that he might open his mouth boldly as he ought to speak.” (Ephes. vi., 19.) Nor did he desist from this plain-speaking, because persecution mercilessly followed in his path ; but continued, as he began, to declare the whole truth faithfully, saying to the elders of the church at Ephesus, “I am pure from the blood of all men ; for I have not shunned to declare unto you *all* the counsel of God.”

In speaking of the relative duties of masters and servants, Paul has enjoined nothing but what is conducive to the happiness of both. But the advocates of slavery, while they turn aside from the advice to masters, fix upon that to servants as confirmatory of their right of property in slaves. No such sanction, it is very certain, can be drawn from the language of the apostle, or be fairly deduced from it. The obedience of servants is not to be taken as *unconditional*, any more than the obedience of subjects to kings is to be construed into the meaning attached to it by despotic rulers. Were monarchs and masters universally the personifications of virtue, to render them implicit obedience would only be saying, in other words, that political subjects and menial servants should honor worth, and obey rectitude. But to do whatever might be commanded by a political tyrant, or a slave-holder, would be very frequently to run counter to the commands of God,—to mistake the power of the capricious tyrant for the supremacy of the Omnipotent Ruler of the Universe. The ruling authorities in every state are simply to be considered as holding power for the public welfare, “*a terror, not to good works, but to the evil.*” (Acts xxiv., 25 ; Rom. xiii., 3, 4.) They are to be a scourge to the wicked, but a refuge to the weak, a defence to the injured, and a “praise to them that do well.” Such governors are then fulfilling the very ends for which their offices were originally designed. They are then striving to realize the sublime truth, that the highest and wisest policy consists in maintaining justice, and in promoting peace and harmony ; and that, compared to these, schemes of mere gain and power are but

trash and dross, and altogether vanity. It is in this respect, and in this respect only, that they can be said to "bear not the sword in vain;" and in this, the only proper sense, they are "ministers of God to the people for good." Should there be any departure from this plain rule,—should the oppressor receive protection in his oppressions, and the unoffending be uniformly punished,—the just principle and true ends of government are subverted, and obedience ceases to be a virtue. The continued cheerful obedience of enlightened subjects can, therefore, only be reasonably expected to follow the administration of just and equitable laws. To such laws alone is the Christian required to yield entire submission. I know that Paul has been thought to lay down the unmeaning proposition of *unconditional* and *unhesitating* compliance with the mandates of civil governors, in his epistle to the Romans. (Ch. XIII., 1-3.) Dr. Macknight, than whom few stand higher for Biblical knowledge and critical acumen, gives this clear and intelligible version of the passage in question: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but from God, and the powers that be are placed under God. Wherefore he who setteth himself in opposition to the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they who resist shall procure punishment for themselves. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil." Not the slightest argument can be gathered from these sentiments in favour of absolute and irresponsible despotism on the one hand, or of slavish subjection on the other. Otherwise, the apostolic injunction could be made to apply, indiscriminately, to *all* forms of government and to *all* systems of established religion,—to laws and doctrines iniquitous and degrading, equally with those founded on equity and justice, and originating from the Book of Life! From such a definition of the apostle's meaning, no distinction would be made between ruling in conformity with wise enactments and gospel morality, and ruling in open contempt and violation of both!

But that this was *not* his meaning is made manifest enough by his conduct on more than one occasion. None exhibited the vital power of religion in the character to

greater perfection than did the apostle Paul. Surely, then, his *practice* is to be taken as a far better exposition of his sentiments on the duties we owe to civil governments, and their executives, than any equivocal meaning attached to his words. A stranger to slavish fear and mean compliance, he invariably exhibited a spirit of manly independence, and took every occasion to pour out his sympathy for the desolate and oppressed. His quick and vigorous understanding could never tamely submit to acts of insolence and injustice, though perpetrated by those in authority. In the character of the *Christian*, he did not sacrifice that of the *citizen*; and, whilst he could bear to be hated for his religion, and even persecuted on account of it, he indignantly resented political injustice, as adverse to its spirit, and counter to its dictates. When the high-priest Ananias commanded him to be smitten, Paul nobly exclaimed, "God shall smite thee, thou whitened wall; for sittest thou to judge me *after the law*, and commandest me to be smitten *contrary to the law?*" (Acts xxiii., 3.) At Thyatira, also, he displayed anything but abject submission to the unjust decree of public officers. At that place, the apostle wrought a miracle on a damsel possessed with a spirit of divination. To her masters, she brought much gain by soothsaying; and a serious loss being thus sustained by them, they raised a cry against him and Silas, his companion in labour, both of whom were, consequently, dragged before the magistrates, as troublers of the city, and teachers of unlawful customs. This was found sufficient to kindle the prejudices of the multitude, which, being backed by a wanton abuse of magisterial power, they were, without inquiry, instantly stripped and flogged; and, regardless of even the merest forms of law, thrust into prison as felons! (How like was this brutal treatment to that inflicted on the abolitionists by the *Lynch-jurors* of America!) The magistrates, however, after the popular excitement had subsided, and their own judgments had time to cool, discovered, to their alarm, that the sentence passed on two innocent men, though grateful to a heedless and unreflecting rabble, had no justification whatever from the *Roman code*, under which alone they were bound to act.

Therefore, fearing for themselves, they, the next morning, sent an order for the immediate discharge of Paul and Silas. When informed of this by the keeper of the prison, the apostle, instead of silently bowing to the injury, according to the doctrine of some, showed the value he attached to his *INALIENABLE right, not to be deprived of PERSONAL freedom, without committing crime.* The apostle put into exercise the right of protestation in such cases, by indignantly saying, "They have beaten us openly, *uncondemned*, being Romans, and have cast us into prison! And now do they thrust us out *privily?* Nay, verily; but *let them come themselves and fetch us out!*" And to this humiliation were the "powers" in question subjected by an inspired apostle, who has thus left on record his disapprobation of magisterial tyranny, and given an example of public spirit which all Christians would do well to emulate. This example was in strict conformity with the genius of the religion he went about teaching, which, rightly understood and properly applied, directly opposes, not only everything that is servile and mean, on the one hand, but everything that is intolerant and harsh on the other. "No tyranny, no oppression, no injustice, must dare to plead its sanction." Thus, whilst it is evident the apostle loathed these, as against the government of God and the good of society, he the most unequivocally shows himself an enemy to grovelling submission, and an enlightened friend to *moral remonstrance*, whenever and wherever civil or ecclesiastical rulers, by their arrogance and temerity, afford the occasion for its practical observance.

Nor is any countenance given by the apostle to the misdeeds of slave-holders, when he enjoins servants to be obedient to their masters. Their obedience, like that of political subjects to the civil authorities, was not to extend to every command, whether just or unjust, whether moral or immoral. When Christianity points to a certain line of duty, and vicious masters command to follow another, what Christian servant ought to hesitate a moment in making his selection? If, for instance, his master should require him to break any of the ten commandments, would he be justified, by the allegiance he

owes to God, in obeying? Certainly not; he ought instantly to refuse, and give, as a sufficient reason for his refusal, the answer of Peter and John to the Jewish rulers: "Whether it be right, in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." (Acts iv., 19.) The soul of all obedience is contained in this; and none but the opponents of Christianity ought to be found seeking safety in human counsels, when opposed to the divine will. This admitted, it is easy to see that, if the principle were carried into full operation, slavery would speedily be annihilated.

The apostolic precepts concerning obedience, forbearance, and humility, can never, in fact, be twisted into so many licences for the arbitrary, cruel, and capricious treatment which slaves receive at the hands of their owners, or through their brutal overseers. He that hath said, "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh," hath not forgotten to add, "And ye masters, do the same thing unto them," giving them "that which is *just* and *equal*," and "forbear threatening;" "knowing that ye also have a master in heaven," with whom "there is no respect of persons." (Col. iv., 1; Ephes. vi., 5, 9.) Insulated passages of scripture, assisted by strained interpretations, may be made to satisfy the slave-holder that they counsel an idolatrous reverence for his power; but the fair reading of the Bible would teach him that no part of the Word of God provides for the degradation of man to the level of the brute. As Milton sings,

"God gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
Dominion absolute; that right we hold
By His donation. But man over man
He made not lord; such title to Himself
Reserving, human left from human free."

It is not a little singular that the apostle Paul should be considered, by the upholders of slavery, as the great founder of their iniquitous system, when he every where, either virtually or emphatically, condemns it! In his first epistle to the Corinthians, he expressly declares that no man ought to resign himself to bondage; "but if thou *vayest be made FREE, USE IT RATHER.*" Without, however,

detaining the reader to account for the folly of the slave-holder in summoning a witness so decidedly adverse to his cause, it is very certain that, to give slaves "that which is JUST and EQUAL," would be, if words have any meaning, *to manumit them at once!* For how can a man in a state of bondage be said to receive either justice or equality, when the fact of holding absolute dominion over him is a *practical denial* of both? Absolute power is essentially vicious; and its existence, in any degree, should be deprecated as the prolific source of evil. Besides which, it is so continually tottering, and so uniformly exposed to overthrow by every breath which assails it, that the little accession of authority which it confers upon its contrivers is overbalanced by the hazards at which it is held, and the moral anxieties with which it burdens its possessors. A *voluntary servant* may, indeed, receive from his master "that which is just and equal," but a *slave—NEVER!*

The condition of the bondman is not a natural one, and he cannot be said to really *obey* his master in anything. Obedience implies the right of choice, the freedom of the will; but the absolute power exercised by the master over his slave is utterly destructive of this choice. The whip is his schoolmaster! No man, at liberty to refuse, with safety, would think of handing over his purse at the demand of a highwayman; and the master has certainly no better claim on the willing compliance of an innocent man, deprived of his personal freedom, to yield his services, without an equitable remuneration. One demand is as felonious as the other. No just plea can be offered, nor a single right be shown, for the atrocities committed by Americans on the people of colour, which the highwayman could not as reasonably offer for the crimes which render him subject to the laws. In both cases, cupidity is to be gratified at the expense of the property and rights of others. It may be urged, that the slave-owner's claim differs, in one respect, from that of the highway robber, inasmuch as it is sanctioned by the publicly-declared will of the government under which he lives. But, then, it should be considered, that any such sanction is wandering from the legitimate path of human legislation; and it is

very certain that the slave owes no obedience to enactments which deprive him of all protection against violence, all claim to justice, and all right of disposing of his own labour. Bishop Burgess treats with merited contempt the idea of the slave's uncompensated services being called *obedience* to his master's orders. The worthy prelate justly revolts at the violation thus sought to be inflicted on the plain meaning of scripture, and he indignantly exclaims,

" Reciprocal duties ! Reciprocal duties ! To have an adequate sense of the propriety of these terms, we must forget the humane provisions of the Hebrew law, as well as the liberal indulgence of Roman slavery, and think only of (his lordship might have said) AMERICAN SLAVERY !—of *unlimited, uncompensated, brutal, slavery*, and then judge what *reciprocity* there can be between ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY and ABSOLUTE SUBJECTION ; and how the divine rule of Christian charity can be said to enforce the *reciprocal duties* of the (American) slave and his master. RECIPROCITY IS INCONSISTENT WITH EVERY DEGREE OF REAL SLAVERY. SLAVERY CANNOT BE CALLED ONE OF THE SPECIES OF CIVIL SUBORDINATION. A SLAVE IS A NON-ENTITY IN CIVIL SOCIETY. *Law and slavery are contradictory terms.*"

Even the worst kind of criminals, who may have their sentences commuted for transportation, perform their allotted tasks under overseers, whose power extends not to anything like that absolute degree with which the slave-driver is invested. How monstrous, therefore, is the injury inflicted on the slave ! How doubly aggravated, how shockingly cruel, is that system which consigns an individual, guiltless of offence, to that measure of toil which is bounded only by the insatiable cravings of avaricious despotism ! The planters would seem never to think of asking themselves, why any one of their species, because of the colour of his skin, should thus be excluded from competing with his fellow man for all that distinguishes one human being from another, either in art or science, in property or privilege !

But the planters themselves, under a system in which property is considered every thing and the black man nothing, do not altogether escape punishment, even in this world. They are punished in the form of ineffective labour, as compared with voluntary service, and, what is

worse, with that depravation of the soul which nothing can produce to so fearful an extent as the exercise of irresponsible power.

" Their deeds are darkly visited:
The masters have their part ;
For their's have been the blinded eye,
And their's the hardened heart.

" Evil may never spring unchecked
Within the mortal soul ;
If such plague-spot be not removed,
It must corrupt the whole !"

That the unhappy slaves, the daily subjects of cruelty and prejudice, and from whose minds the light of knowledge is so carefully excluded, should also sometimes be goaded into the most ferocious acts of revenge against their masters, can hardly excite surprise ; and, though their fierce retaliation cannot be vindicated, it is a lesson they have been taught by their own unpitied sufferings. Life itself becomes valueless to men who are wholly deprived of every comfort which renders it tolerable ; and, when existence is rendered so deplorable, it is not surprising that it should be thrown heedlessly away on any enterprise which holds out the most distant hope of wreaking vengeance on their tyrants. Dr. Taylor says,

" We must look not only to the yoke imposed upon the slave, but to the mortal servitude inflicted upon the master. The dread of a servile war, or at least of a domestic insurrection, is almost ever present to his mind. The cowardice of fear drives him to precautions which only aggravate his danger ; for there is a point where excess of weakness passes into excess of strength : it is the point where endurance abandons hope, and grasps despair."—*Natural History of Society*, Vol. 1., p. 103.

The planters are, from their knowledge of these facts, kept in a state of constant alarm, not only for the safety of their property, but also for themselves and their families. The following reminiscence of a gentleman who once resided in Charleston, South Carolina, will be sufficiently explanatory of this fearful state of things :

" As it may naturally be expected, the unfortunate slaves, knowing that they have no property in themselves, show but little respect for

the property of others. Plots and insurrections are frequent; and, during the winters of 1825 and 1827, we were continually alarmed by their attempts to set fire to the city. Some of these, unfortunately, succeeded too well, and a large amount of property was destroyed, especially in King-street, which is long, narrow, and combustible. Half of the militia-force of the city, in which all able-bodied whites are enrolled, without distinction of rank or nation, is always on fire-duty, or liable to be called out for the protection of the inhabitants and their property against the Negroes, in case of a fire. I was up between twenty and thirty nights during the winter on this business. The blacks were compelled to draw the engines, and extinguish the fire they had kindled, while many a fierce denunciation of punishment and revenge fell from the lips of their incensed masters. Every one was aware that the Negroes were constantly plotting our destruction, and that fire was the auxiliary which they chiefly relied upon to effect it!"

"Yes," writes the illustrious Clarkson, "if the unhappy slave is in an unfortunate situation, so is the tyrant who holds him. Action and re-action are equal to each other, as well in the moral as in the natural world. You cannot exercise an improper dominion over a fellow-creature, but, by a wise ordering of Providence, you must necessarily injure yourself;" or, as St. Pierre more briefly expresses it, "When human policy locks its chain to the ankle of a slave, divine justice rivets the other end round the neck of the tyrant!" Indeed, sooner or later, the penalty of injustice must fall on those who uphold a system so flagrantly wicked; for "Verily, there is a God that judgeth the earth."

"There is a time, and Justice marks the date,
For long-forbearing Clemency to wait;
That hour elapsed, the incurable revolt
Is punish'd, and down comes the thunderbolt!"

Though the slave-states of America have often experienced this truth, to their cost, they remain perverse in maintaining, by the most flagitious means, this execrable traffic in their fellow-creatures. In May, 1838, about a thousand fine buildings in Charleston were destroyed, of which half the inmates were slaves; and the inhabitants, believing the disastrous event to have been brought upon them by the awful vengeance of Heaven, set one day *expressly apart*, as a solemn fast, to atone for their mani-

fold sins. Yet, (strange infatuation and blindness!) while thus covering themselves with sackcloth and ashes,—while thus acknowledging the chastising hand of a justly-incensed God,—their consciences appear to have been so seared as to wholly stultify them against acknowledging their guilt in the monster enormity of slavery!

But, though they may still refuse to “do justice and love mercy,” to talk of *obedience* to their iniquitous power, is an insult to common sense! Such a demand has arrayed against it the divinity of justice, the rights and reason of men, and the righteous commands of the Highest Legislator, who hath emphatically declared, “Ye shall not oppress one another.” (Lev. xxv., 14.) “I will be a swift witness against those that *oppress the hireling in his wages*, the widow, and the fatherless, and that *turn aside the stranger from his right*, and fear not me, saith the Lord of hosts.” (Mal. III., 5.) “For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord. I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.” (Psalm XII., 5.)

If this part of the subject is dwelt upon at length,—at greater length, perhaps, than to some may seem necessary,—it is with an earnest desire to disabuse the minds of those who have been led into the grievous error of supposing there is no disagreement between slavery and the Bible. There can be no doubt that this dogma was originally put forth to veil a system of unprincipled polities; but, unhappily, its mischiefs have extended their boundaries so far and wide as to have proved, also, hostile to the spread of the Gospel. The wretched compound of false scripture and false deduction, by which the fallacy is sought to be supported, finds disciples among many in America, whose education and experience ought to have led them into a totally opposite conclusion. It cannot be matter of surprise, therefore, that their pernicious example should be so extensively adopted by the more uncultivated members of churches. Dr. Channing lamented, that “THE AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE IS MORE SUCCESSFULLY USED THAN ANYTHING ELSE TO RECONCILE GOOD MINDS TO SLAVERY!” In the hope of being instrumental

in diminishing this success, though in never so small a degree, the reader will bear with me, while I further observe, that the whole of our Saviour's public life, so far from countenancing anything oppressive and arbitrary, was purely religious and benevolent. All His energies were devoted to the alleviation of human misery and the right direction of human conduct; and He can never be said to have favoured the vice of parties and the abuse of liberty. The sentiments which He illustrated and enforced, and the truths which He propounded and exemplified, can never, by fair means, be construed into apologies for the horrible wrongs of slavery. He was himself the personification of every virtue,—our Great Exemplar in all that is calculated to operate against evil, and drive cruelty out of the world. His every word and every deed were expressive and continual proofs of this, and signally show that the idea is something more than a poetical fancy,—that it embodies a truth of unvarying meaning, and is significant of what ought to be the conduct of those who profess the religion which He came from heaven to teach. Nor less evident is it, that a perfect system of equity is well pleasing to God. To whatever page of His revealed will we turn our eyes, evidence is at hand to satisfy all whose hearts are duly influenced by His holy spirit, that it is eminently conducive to *genuine* freedom and promotive of *impartial* laws. It no where teaches the bondman to hug his fetters, to exhibit any unmanly and unnatural acquiescence in compulsory servitude. Nor does it countenance the incongruity of men who *profess* extraordinary respect for liberty and benevolence, while in *practice* they are tyrants, and callous to the sufferings of others with a skin more dingy than their own. What, indeed, must the negro, when brought to a saving knowledge of Christianity, think of the piety of his merciless task-masters? How will the odious practices of *religious* masters, overseers, and drivers, harmonize, in his eyes, with the Gospel's pure and universally benevolent spirit?—with the tender mercies and the sublime charity, which are so beautifully set forth in that holy book? Does not that divine volume *teach the manacled* negro that he is, by nature, the white

man's equal?—made, like him, in the image of that Omnipotent Being, "who hath made of one blood *all* nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth?" (Acts xvii., 26.) "Have we not *all* one father?" asks the prophet, "Hath not one God created us? *Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?*" (Mal. ii., 10.) Is not the negro's soul saved by the same Redeemer, and capable of enjoying the same heaven and the same eternity? "By one spirit, we are *all* baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be *bond or free.*" (1 Cor. xii., 12.)

Those *professed* guides to the way of eternal life, who are daily employed in the scandalous and criminal art of reducing intellectual beings to a level with the brutes that perish, drag about with them a load of guilt which their loud professions of piety can never lighten. The superiority of their own narrow and selfish views being *practically asserted* over the benign and comprehensive dictates of Holy Writ, at once proclaim their presumption, if not their hypocrisy. To *preach* while they *offend* is the usual policy of confirmed sinners. Some profess principles which they abhor; and others commend doctrines which they discourage. Religion, when its general spirit is *practically set* at nought by its avowed friends, is more injured than by the open scoffer; because religion is thus exposed to the shafts of the infidel by their inconsistencies,—inconsistencies as disastrous to their own true interests as they are afflictive to the cause of God. Infidels, indeed, are inoffensive characters, in comparison with those who profess religion, while they sanction crime. Infidels do not whine and preach over some texts of Scripture, while they close their minds to the commands of others. They do not, like the clerical apologists for slavery in America, pretend to serve God, while they execute the will and receive the wages of the devil! When members of Christian churches stamp with their seal the enormity of slavery, and refuse to speak of right and wrong in the language of truth, the insupportably offensive fact is eagerly seized upon by the enemies of the Gospel, who, quickened into energy by the keen dislike which they bear to its moral restraints, seek every oppor-

tunity to bring contempt on its holy name. "It is doubtless true," says the Rev. C. Finney, in his Lectures on Revivals, "that one of the reasons for the low state of religion at the present time, is, that many churches have taken the wrong side on the subject of slavery, have suffered prejudice to prevail over principle, and have feared to call this abomination by its true name." In America, as elsewhere, there are too many persons more disposed to form their estimate of Christianity by contemplating it through the medium of its professors than in the only legitimate way. They do not see, or wish to persuade themselves into not seeing, that the inconsistencies of men can have no proper influence on the decision of the matter. Feeling no inclination, abstractedly, to study the scriptures, "whether these things be so or not," they view religion through its abuses, as a much shorter and easier way of arriving at the conclusions they desire. But the veriest tyro in logic ought to know, that the abuse of a thing is no argument against the thing itself. The only legitimate object of inquiry is, not the discordance between men's preaching and practice, but, "What saith the scriptures?" "To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." (Is. viii., 20.)

To this law and to this testimony, appeal has now been made against the dogmas of the pro-slavery party in America. It is a subject so intimately connected with the dearest rights of man, in every quarter of the globe, that all ought to feel desirous of attaining correct views regarding it. To this end, it has been shown from the Bible, not in the narrow abridgment made of it by slave-dealers, but in that fulness of extent in which it was promulgated by its Divine Author, that the whole system of American slavery rests on the corruptions of earth, and derives no sanction from the doctrines of heaven. "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, *thoroughly furnished unto EVERY GOOD WORD AND WORK.*" Whenever an apparent interest and a real *one present themselves* to the choice, scripture is always

clear in its persuasion against the former, and in its direction to the latter. The mild and amiable character of Christianity, when fairly drawn from the whole tenor of Revelation, affords no countenance to slavery, nor furnishes a single apology for the perpetration of any other kind of wrong. Its sanctions are confined to "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely and of good report." It does not, like the philosophy of the Ancients, address itself exclusively to the opulent and the powerful, the wise and the cultivated; but, with a noble principle of equalized charity, and an expansive spirit of universal benevolence, it consults both the present and the eternal welfare of the indigent as well as the wealthy, accommodates its language to the understanding, and develops its wisdom to the contemplation of *all*. It is a religion which charters the brotherhood of the universe, and seals the free existence of man,—a religion which blends Mercy with Justice, and leads Duty into the path of Rectitude. The exalted precepts which it enjoins are written "as with a sun-beam," and sacredly prosper under the superintendence of HIM, who, being "no respecter of persons," frowns equally upon the oppressor of the black man as of the white.

In censuring the attempt to connect such a perfectly harmonious system of morality with the grossness of slavery, I may have been led into expressions which some may deem harsh and uncharitable; but, without desiring to sanction any departure from the strict line of Christian urbanity, I would observe, that it is difficult for any one, who feels and reasons rightly, to dwell on the peculiar enormity of American slavery, without the utmost indignation being excited. This indignation is also further heightened by the fact of so many professing Christians in that country joining in the execrable conspiracy *against* everything that is worthy and commendable on the side of the negro, and *for* everything that is withering to his best feelings and his brightest hopes! If, therefore, these enemies of their fellow-men have been reproved with

severity, I have certainly not sacrificed truth to passion. These pages do not contain a syllable against them which they do not deserve,—deserve according to their own declarations, their own words, and their own deeds. "Woe unto the world, because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come. But WOE TO THAT MAN BY WHOM THE OFFENCE COMETH." (Matt. xviii., 7.)

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